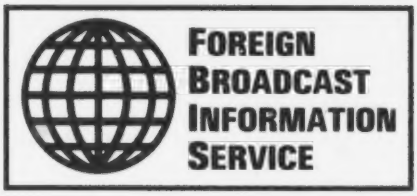

Daily Report

Soviet Union

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Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-87-227 *25 November 1987*

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Further on Shultz-Shevardnadze Talks, Accord

LD241526 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1506 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Geneva, 24 Nov (TASS)—Talks between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz continued this morning and this afternoon.

The sides conducted a businesslike and useful discussion of matters connected with completing work on a treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles and preparations for the official visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to the United States next month.

The working groups set up to prepare the compromise options which would open up the possibility of working out mutually acceptable accords on unresolved matters, have been active.

Issues Solved, Treaty 'Ready'

LD241813 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Geneva November 24 TASS—Talks between the USSR minister of foreign affairs Eduard Shevardnadze and the secretary of state of the United States George Shultz ended here today.

The sides resolved the remaining outstanding questions concerning the draft treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

It can now be said with confidence that this extremely important document is ready and will be signed by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and the President of the United States Ronald Reagan during their summit meeting in Washington in December.

Questions related to the programme and organisation of this meeting were also studied.

Talks' Results Praised

LD242002 Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] In Geneva the Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his American counterpart George Shultz, have said that they have finalized the work on a treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Upon completing the talks to prepare Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the United States next month, Shevardnadze and Shultz praised their results. What we've done, the Soviet minister said, is in the interests of all nations. He expressed the hope that the signing of the treaty on two classes of missiles would open the possibility for a new step in nuclear disarmament.

Shevardnadze News Conference

LD251007 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Geneva November 25 TASS—Following two days of Soviet-American talks in Geneva Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the U.S.S.R., summed up their results at a news conference here on November 24.

He made the following statement:

You know already—for the press, there are no secrets—that the U.S.S.R.-U.S. peace diplomacy marathon is over. I would like to say right away that the guideposts, the route of the marathon have been fixed precisely here, in Geneva, and in Reykjavik, and it is not for nothing, not without reason that we regard the Reykjavik summit meeting as an intellectual breakthrough in Soviet-American relations.

I dare think that the progress made satisfied everyone—us, our American partners, our allies and the world public at large. If we continue to use the figure of speech, we should say that the last hurdles in the way to the Washington summit have been removed. Yesterday and today our delegations were able to clear away the remaining several difficult problems, after which an agreed draft treaty for completely eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles has become an accomplished fact.

We are now stopping the Geneva clock that has been ticking away the months and years of the hard and complicated talks on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and starting up the clock of preparations for Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with President Reagan, putting it on to Washington time.

In the run up to the Washington meeting time is acquiring a new dimension and a new meaning. It is a time when our hopes are beginning to be fulfilled. Despite the winter outside, we would like to think that a political thaw is beginning in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States that can alter the political climate on our planet.

The significance of the Washington meeting is vast. Its centerpiece will be an agreement that we shall turn over for approval and signature to the top leaders of our countries.

What are its distinguishing features?

This is the first major agreement in the field of real disarmament between the USSR and the United States in eight years.

While formally being a Soviet-American one, this is also the first agreement that has a truly international nature as nuclear weapons will be removed from the territories of nine countries.

This is the first agreement to reaffirm the unity and integrity of the modern world through the elimination of nuclear weapons.

This is the first agreement for physically destroying two classes of nuclear arms not because they are physically or morally obsolete, but because they are too dangerous to mankind.

This is the first agreement incorporating the idea of comprehensive monitoring and verification, under which states have consciously forgone, in the name of common good and common interests, part of their sovereign rights and allowed inspectors into their territories.

This is, finally, the first agreement affirming the feasibility and possibility of a nuclear-free and more secure world.

On top of this, the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles means clearing a seemingly insurmountable psychological barrier in relations between two nuclear powers and attaining a drastically new level of cooperation in fulfilling the more important tasks of significance to all mankind.

This treaty is a result of a breakthrough in thinking, of a long and exhausting work by large collectives. It is only people believing in the rightness of the cause to which they have contributed so generously that could have accomplished this great project.

We ought to thank today all those who facilitated the creation of a world atmosphere in which it was possible to start the elimination of nuclear weapons.

I would like to point to the endorsement in the treaty of the concept of equality and reciprocity in the most sensitive area of international relations—in the sphere of security.

The agreement has come off because each side displayed readiness to take into account the interests of the other side and find compromise in the balance of its own interests and the interests of the other side.

This applies to the verification regime as well. We saw the triumph of the principle which we had upheld since the very start of the negotiations, the principle that neither side should obtain benefits, unilateral advantages at the other side's expense. If difficulties did arise in the elaboration of verification and inspection procedures, they were due to attempts to settle issues on the basis other than that of equality and reciprocity.

The negotiations graphically showed that the Soviet Union was ready to go as far in building confidence with the use of reliable verification measures as the other side would be prepared to go. In practice, we stood for comprehensive and radical verification measures. That was our vital interest.

Some are eagerly talking now about our concessions, seeking to distort the picture and filling in an author's certificate on verification measures in their name. Elementary justice prescribes recognition of one's own, reciprocal concessions as well. We shall lodge no protest on this account. But we'll note: The patent belongs to both countries. Here in Geneva each side covered its half of the road, and the mutual concessions combined produced brilliant results.

One more thing: Breaking once again through the voices of approval is a question that better fits a sports fan, rather than a politician: "Who has won?" Arithmetic is being summoned to witness: "The USSR will destroy four of its warheads for each U.S. warhead."

Yes, that's true: We are to eliminate more warheads. But the point at issue should be not the balance of forces, but the balance of interests. This has been fully observed. The interests of the Soviet Union and our allies have not been damaged. The interests of the United States have not been damaged either. On the final account, peace has triumphed.

Over the past two days we discussed questions related to the programme of the December summit meeting. The discussion was constructive—precisely this style has lately characterized our talks with the U.S. secretary of state. The chief priority here are success of the business part of the visit by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev to the United States, signing of the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles and modelling of conditions that might facilitate new major accords during President Reagan's return visit to Moscow. I will say in brief that the planning of the summit meeting was successful.

We are to carry out immense work—to prepare an agreement on deep cuts in strategic offensive arms (1 50-per cent reduction is meant) [as receeived]. Mikhail Gorbachev described this issue as a vital problem of our times in the conditions of preserving the ABM Treaty. We are inspired by the fact that in drafting the INF agreement we gained vast experience. The experience of arduous and intricate work. We have agreed today that we will use this valuable experience in the future.

Of course, we did not limit ourselves at the Geneva talks only to problems connected with the preparation of the INF agreement. We also considered issues related to regional conflicts, human rights, humanitarian cooperation and bilateral relations. Their review was conducted

in the light of the future Washington meeting—the implication being that the issues will be discussed in Washington in greater detail and substance by our top leaders.

I want to congratulate you cordially on that historic event, for I believe that evidently not a single person on this planet can remain indifferent when the case in point is the abolition of the nuclear arsenals, and the first and very important step has been made along that difficult road.

I would like to express gratitude to the leaders of Switzerland and the Swiss people who always offer us hospitality and create very good conditions for fruitful work.

Eduard Shevardnadze then answered questions asked by media people:

Question: What is meant by strategic stability and what progress has been achieved on that issue?

Answer: As far as strategic stability is concerned, I said in Washington that we, two great powers, should maintain strategic parity and observe the ABM Treaty which is the guarantee of such strategic stability. We are attaching supreme significance to the ABM Treaty.

Question: How do you assess the contribution of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia to the making of the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles?

Answer: Let me put it straight—if it hadn't been for the support of our allies—the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia—there would have been no treaty. The same should be said, for the sake of justice, about U.S. allies, specifically the Federal Republic of Germany.

Question: What provisions have been included into the treaty concerning inspections on challenge?

Answer: The draft treaty comprises all principal provisions which guarantee its observance in full, including provisions for data check-up inspections—the exchange of such data is about to be completed—inspections of the fact of elimination and inspection on suspicion. Generally speaking, every type of inspection possible is present in the agreement. Add to all this the possibility for our countries to observe and verify the state of affairs from space, that is, by national technical means, as we say. Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, first deputy minister of defense of the USSR, who is present here, can confirm that there is not a single outstanding issue as far as inspections are concerned.

Akhromeyev: We raised questions concerning inspections more often than our partners did.

Shevardnadze: But made decisions together.

Question: What can you say about the way the treaty meets the Soviet demand for visits to bases in NATO countries over a period of ten years after the missiles will have been eliminated?

Answer: There is an accord between the USSR and the U.S. under which both sides are responsible for the observance of the terms of the treaty and, in parallel, we have reached an understanding on the exchange of notes between the Soviet Union and the Governments of the U.S. and German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. This means that the interests of exercising comprehensive verification and, at the same time, everything that regards the sovereign rights of those states have been taken care of.

Question: What are chances for a treaty on the strategic offensive arms being signed next year?

Answer: There exist such chances and they are not bad.

Question: What difficulties remain in the work on that treaty?

Answer: A very large amount of work still remains to be done but, taking account of the experience accumulated, that work can be carried through given the mutual desire. In fact, the work is already in progress on the draft joint document. Although it is true that for the time being it contains more brackets than agreed wordings.

Question: When, in your opinion, will President Reagan make a return visit to Moscow?

Answer: This is up to Mr. Reagan, but considering the election campaign, this visit should not be postponed. It is likely to take place in the first half of the next year. It will be too late after that. The more so, since there are problems of the ratification of the future treaty.

Question: How was the issue of inspection on suspicion resolved?

Answer (S. Akhromeyev): If we do not go into detail and do not use the diplomatic language but try to make things plainly understood, it's as follows: Over 13 years following the treaty ratification the parties can make claims to each other for carrying out an inspection on suspicion and the party to be checked is committed to meet the request of the party which asked for the inspection.

Definite quotas have been set for the first three years, for subsequent five years and another five years after that. This means that a credible system of verification of the treaty's observance has been established.

Shevardnadze: Well, the Soviet and American military are in for some merry life before the end of the current century.

Akhromeyev: We are ready for it in the name of stronger peace.

Question: What is your attitude to Shamir's proposal for holding direct talks between Israel and the Arabs under the auspices of the two great powers—the USSR and the U.S.?

Answer: You should be aware of our stand. We favor an international conference on the entire range of Middle East problems. I believe that this is the only correct approach. This view is shared by all permanent members of the Security Council, by the Arab states. There is no doubt that contacts and bilateral talks are possible in the framework of that conference. In principle, as far as I know, the minister of foreign affairs of Israel shares this viewpoint. But I cannot guarantee that he will be able to reach agreement with the prime minister.

Question: Did the Soviet military find it difficult to give up such a number of warheads?

Answer (S. Akhromeyev): The importance of the treaty does not boil down to the number of warheads alone. Its importance even from the military viewpoint includes both a political and a moral aspect. That the treaty was difficult to work out will be seen from the fact that we opened negotiations with the U.S. in 1981 and are ending them in late 1987. What was required was not only giving up a certain number of warheads: Very much had to be reconsidered in relations between states, in what military power and mutual relations between states meant in the present-day world. All this took almost seven years. It was difficult for us but, I believe, it wasn't any easier for our partners to work on that treaty and prepare it.

Shevardnadze: We have only several months on drafting an agreement on strategic offensive weapons.

Question: What place will the SDI take in future negotiations?

Answer: We are deadly against any attempts to militarize space. It must be preserved peaceful. The ABM Treaty is the best guarantee of this. Therefore, we uphold principles of this treaty.

Question: How did you come to agreement on inspection of production sites of missiles in the USA and the USSR?

Answer: We have reached full mutual understanding on this question, taking into account mutual interests and interests of control. The list of agreed facilities will be published after the signing of the treaty.

Question: Do you expect any difficulties with the treaty's ratification of the U.S. Senate?

Answer: Judging by pronouncements of some senators, there will be difficulties. But, in the opinion of specialists well versed in the conditions of the Senate's operation and balance of forces, the needed majority is for ratification. I do not think that something unpredictable will happen. It is not accidental that I said about the fact that the treaty conforms to the interests of America, the Soviet Union and the entire world. As far as we know, public opinion in the United States is shaping up in favour of the treaty.

Shultz on Ratification

LD242242 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2206 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Geneva, 25 Nov (TASS)—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz described the draft treaty reached with the USSR on medium- and shorter-range missiles as "an important first step," "a good beginning." "Let the critics prove why, in their opinion, it is necessary to have more nuclear armaments and not fewer," the secretary of state said during a news conference held this evening at the conclusion of 2 days of talks with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. George Shultz expressed confidence that the U.S. Government would get the Senate to ratify the treaty. He also dwelt on certain details of the treaty.

Shevardnadze Departs Geneva

LD242111 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2053 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Geneva, 24 Nov—USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze left here for Moscow today. Over the last 2 days he met here with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in order to complete the work on a treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles and also for a discussion on matters connected with preparations for the official visit to the United States next month by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Arrives, Met by Yakovlev

LD250035 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0022 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov (TASS)—Today Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politbuto and USSR foreign minister, returned to Moscow from Geneva where he had met with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

The minister was met at the airport by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and by other officials.

Foreign Reactions to Agreement Reported

Mongolian Statement

LD242248 Moscow TASS in English 2225 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 24 TASS—Mongolia welcomes the upcoming summit meeting between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, at which a historic agreement on eliminating two classes of nuclear weaponry will be signed and critically important issues of disarmament discussed, Mongolian Foreign Minister Khumbagiin Olzvoi [name and title as received] said in an interview with TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev.

The signing of the treaty will signal the start of nuclear disarmament. One would like to hope that it will lead to further important agreements in the process of disarmament to be joined by all countries for the sake of mankind entering a nuclear-free age.

In this context, it is important as never before for the leaders of all countries to display a new and responsible mode of political thinking, the minister said. This outlook calls for admitting the catastrophic nature of the consequences of a nuclear war as well as a demonstration of political will and an honest preparedness to conduct talks and reach agreements on the basis of the principles of equality and equal security. The minister expressed the hope that the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting would pass exactly in this vein.

Japan 'Welcomes' Accord

LD250805 Moscow TASS in English 0725 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Tokyo November 25 TASS—The Government of Japan energetically welcomes the agreed-upon variant of the Soviet-American agreement on elimination of medium and shorter range missiles. This has been officially stated to the press by General Secretary of the Cabinet of Ministers Keizo Obuchi in Tokyo today.

He said he was sure of the success of the coming Soviet-American summit meeting. Earlier Prime Minister of Japan Noboru Takeshita qualified the attainment of the agreement in Geneva as "a very good event."

The government of Japan believes, the *Kyodo Tsushin* news agency reports, that one is witnessing consolidation of the practice of a broad Soviet-American dialogue aimed at spreading the process of disarmament from elimination of medium-and shorter-range missiles to reduction of strategic armaments. In the opinion of official circles, the news agency reports, such a development of events might lead to positive changes also in Soviet-Japanese relations.

Norwegian 'Satisfaction'

LD250815 Moscow TASS in English 0729 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Oslo November 25 TASS—A report from Geneva that the Soviet Union and the USA agreed all questions pertaining to a draft treaty on elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles evokes deep satisfaction, said here Kare Willock, chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Norwegian Storting (Parliament). He said in an interview with the Norwegian news agency that unanimity reached during the meeting between the foreign ministers of the USSR and the USA was a result of prolonged negotiations in which both sides displayed considerable patience. At the same time ground was laid for further advance in disarmament.

Kolesnichenko Cited on Strategic Arms

LD250059 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0043 GMT 25 Nov 87

"The opinion of a PRAVDA Observer"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov (TASS)—"Although a treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles has mainly been agreed upon, the struggle over it continues," Tomas Kolesnichenko states in analyzing the situation in the United States on the eve of the summit in *Pravda* today. In his opinion, there are even more tense discussions in store over the halving of strategic offensive weapons. He writes: Are both sides ready for that? I think I would not be mostaken to say that the whole situation that has taken shape in the last few days in the United States only sets off more starkly the Soviet position—a position of realism, direct and honest dialogue, and without attempts to snatch, gain, or swindle something. To all appearances the U.S. side has still not risen to such a level, and it should. After all, it is only a matter of days until the summit.

CW Ban Talks Resume in Geneva 23 Nov

LD231922 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Geneva November 23 TASS—The multilateral talks on banning and eliminating chemical weapons were resumed in Geneva today within the framework of the conference on disarmament.

Work will be continued to coordinate provisions of a convention on general and complete ban on this type of weapons of mass destruction. The primary task of the talks' regular round which will continue till December 16 is to elaborate a future convention's provisions concerning an international verification mechanism, including challenge inspections, a sphere to be covered by the convention, and a procedure for the eliminating of the stocks of chemical weapons as well as for their nonproduction in commercial industry.

The leader of the Soviet delegation, Yuriy Nazarkin, said "the Soviet Union intends to act energetically and constructively at the talks, seeking to resolve all still unsettled issues so that the talks on a comprehensive convention on full ban and on destruction of chemical weapons could be brought to successful completion as early as 1988".

Batsanov on Hopes for Chemical Weapons Talks
LD241441 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—The Soviet side hopes that a new spurt for concluding a respective convention will be made at the multilateral negotiations on banning chemical weapons that resumed in Geneva Monday, the more so that all of its principled issues have been solved or are close to be agreed upon, Sergey Batsanov, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Department for the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy and Space, told a briefing here today.

We hold that the convention should ensure a complete elimination of all chemical weapons stocks and the industrial base for their manufacture and guarantee the non-regeneration of these weapons in the future. All this should be carried out under stringent international control. At the same time, the Soviet side is prepared to treat with understanding the considerations of a number of states to the effect that the convention should not infringe upon lawful industrial and commercial interests of the parties to it. Our attitude to the proposals for developing broad mutually profitable international cooperation in the peaceful uses of the advances in chemistry is equally positive.

But if the state of things at the talks gives ground to positive evaluations, one cannot fail to see alarming elements either, Batsanov said. At issue is the departure by some states from the goal of a world-wide and total ban on chemical weaponry, the substitution of such a ban with piecemeal measures allowing continued development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons. The causes of this are in the military sphere.

I happened to visit at the head of a group of experts a facility to destroy chemical weapons in the city of Munster, West Germany. Old weapons produced in Germany prior to 1945 are disposed of at this facility, which is its specific feature. Nonetheless, a number of decisions underlying its operation are of interest, in the opinion of experts. We assess the results of the trip positively. It has convinced us for one more time that the solution of complex technical questions under discussion at the talks is quite possible on the basis of cooperation among the states concerned.

Palyonykh Assesses Nuclear Test Ban Talks
LD241502 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—The first round of the full-scale Soviet-American talks on the limitation and eventual ending of nuclear testing, that was held from November 9 to November 20 in Geneva, laid down a good basis for the further advance toward an early solution of talks, head of the Soviet delegation at the first round of the talks Igor Palyonykh said today. He spoke here at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists.

The sides have virtually embarked on the working out of joint experiment for verification at each other's ranges (respectively in Semipalatinsk and Nevada) to work out improved measures of verification of the observance of the 150-kiloton threshold of nuclear explosions stipulated by the 1974 agreements. As a result of that experiment proposed by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze last April during his meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Goerge Shultz, the sides will obtain the necessary information on the basis of which, following all-round appraisal, it would be possible to make the final decision on the acceptability of some or other methods of verification, as well as appropriate combination of such methods.

The Soviet and U.S. delegations at the talks agreed about the tasks and fundamental principles of the joint experiment, proceeding from the view that it should yield information about effectiveness, practical implication and non-intrusiveness of various methods of verification.

To resolve a number of questions of the preparation for the holding of a joint experiment on verification at the given round, the sides agreed to organize fact-finding trips of Soviet and American experts to each other's proving nuclear ranges in January 1988.

Laying down the organizational foundation for the further work at the talks, the sides agreed during the first round to set up at the talks special working groups. Two of them — the group for the preparation of a joint experiment and the group for technical aspects of verification — began their work. Specifically, the arrangement on fact-finding trips to each other's ranges has been achieved as a result of the work of one of these groups.

If both sides are striving for acceptable settlement of numerous complex political and technical matters, there can be hope that an improved measures of the verification of the observance of the 1974 and 1976 treaties will be worked out at the talks in the foreseeable future, as early as in the first half of 1988.

Talks on European Forces Cut Continue
PM241201 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Consultations Continue"]

[Text] Vienna, 23 Nov—The process of coordinating the main elements of a mandate for talks on armed forces and conventional arms reductions in Europe from the

Atlantic to the Urals was continued here today at the latest session within the framework of consultations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries.

Nazarenko Views NATO 'Arms Upgrading' Plans
PM231209 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Nov 87 First Edition p

[Candidate of Military Sciences Colonel V. Nazarenko article: "They Are Drawing Up Plans For Arms Upgrading"]

[Text] It is rightly said that in politics, as in chess, moves are pondered in advance. A Soviet-U.S. agreement on the "global double-zero" has not yet been signed and procedures for destroying medium- and shorter-range missiles and for reliable verification of the course of their elimination have still not been finalized, yet leading circles in the United States and NATO are already drawing up plans for "arms upgrading"—for replacing the nuclear missiles subject to elimination with other types of weapons.

"Some adjustments may have to be made to the forces remaining at the disposal of the North Atlantic alliance in order to ensure that an effective deterrent potential is retained. We are now studying this question in NATO," British Defense Secretary G. Younger stated recently to London's *The Independent*. For several months representatives of NATO countries' military departments have been holding animated discussions on measures to "compensate" for the possible "loss" of Euromissiles. Pentagon leaders are setting the tone of these discussions. They do not doubt that "when the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles is implemented, the President will have more weapons than he has now to prevent threats in Europe." This, at least, is how people in a Pentagon "think tank"—the Defense Information Center—see the ultimate goal of the "compensation" program. Presumably people there know the real plans of U.S. military circles, which do not want to relinquish the strategic advantages which they gained as a result of deploying Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Europe.

The West European press has already begun to widely publicize U.S. plans for West European "arms upgrading": plans to secure an increase in military expenditure from the NATO allies, determine the main directions in building the bloc's allied armed forces in the immediate future, coordinate national doctrines with NATO doctrine, elaborate new military-theoretical concepts, forms, and methods of using existing and future weapons systems in combat, and to create a single control system for troops and weapons.

People in the Pentagon think that these problems can only be successfully resolved by promptly implementing a number of major measures in the military-technical sphere. It is thought that after the elimination of their medium-range missiles the "center of gravity" will shift toward the NATO allied armed forces' tactical nuclear weapons presently in service. According to data from France's *L'Express* magazine, even after the elimination of U.S. medium-range missiles, NATO will have no less than 4,000 nuclear warheads in Europe. In conjunction with U.S. strategic nuclear forces, this will enable the bloc's leadership to continue to adhere to the strategy of "nuclear deterrence." Let us note that for some reason the magazine left out Britain's 500 nuclear warheads and bombs and did not mention the French nuclear potential of more than 250 warheads and bombs.

Practical steps for "NATO arms upgrading" were discussed at the 3-4 November session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group. In particular, they talked there the need to implement the following measures: modernize the "Lance" missile system with a view to increasing its range to 250 miles and increasing its accuracy; accelerate the elaboration of the new, most promising Army Tactical Missile System, which will replace the "Lance" complexes in the future; and commission a new "air-to-surface" missile capable of carrying a nuclear charge for NATO tactical aviation. It is envisaged boosting the combat capabilities of the bloc's allied air forces by reinforcing them with U.S. FB-111 bombers and also by purchasing for NATO tactical aviation an additional number of U.S. dual-purpose F-15E aircraft, which constitute, as specialists affirm, a "wonderful means of delivering nuclear weapons." It is also planned to reallocate targets on the territory of Warsaw Pact countries intended for destruction by nuclear weapons between ICBM's, SLBM's, and nuclear-tipped "Tomahawk" cruise missiles.

The Atlanticists are planning to supplement the tactical aspect of the "arms upgrading" with the operational-strategic aspect. Above all they intend to implement the U.S. program to deploy 4,000 sea-launched cruise missiles, including 800 with nuclear warheads, and equip with them not only U.S. Navy ships but also those of other NATO countries. They are also trying to close the "European breach" by assigning 150 B-52G bombers from U.S. strategic aviation, suggesting that they be given the tasks which would have been resolved via the Pershing-2's and cruise missiles.

The NATO countries' defense ministers think that the number of formations within the allied armed forces should be increased by several divisions in the future. They are insisting on accelerating work on future weapons systems whose commissioning will force the enemy to reject traditional forms and methods of armed struggle and will minimize the advantages which he allegedly enjoys in general-purpose forces.

People across the ocean think that the West must retain "nuclear deterrence" at any cost, for a nonnuclear Europe is the worst of all evils for them. U.S. President R. Reagan, speaking 28 October this year at the West Point Military Academy, himself confirmed this unequivocally. He said: "Some people contend that

when medium-range missiles are removed, our determination to defend Europe will be weakened. This is simply not true. We retain our firm commitment to the NATO flexible response strategy, which guarantees the bloc's capability to prevent aggression at any level. In Europe itself we have retained a large arsenal of nuclear weapons of many types, including nuclear-capable surface systems, aircraft, and submarines."

Perhaps the most urgent task today is to introduce some common sense into politics. But this is scarcely likely to happen if "nuclear deterrence" is regarded with steadfast obstinacy as the be-all and end-all of security, something that is in no way linked with the security of other members of the international community. A. Einstein once said jokingly that it is all a question of perspective: Given the appropriate perspective, the Ptolemaic system will look as faultless as the heliocentric system. Obviously, people in the United States and NATO are taking nuclear weapons alone as their point of reference in their foreign policy strategy and are trying persistently to convince the world that the road to the abyss of nuclear hell is the most reliable.

Contrary to obvious facts, people in the Pentagon and NATO headquarters are trying to "prove" that after the elimination of U.S missiles in Europe the "threat" from the Warsaw Pact's conventional armaments, which are allegedly considerably superior, will allegedly increase. However, it has long been proved that at the present, given all the existing asymmetries and imbalances in conventional armaments, approximate equality in Warsaw Pact and NATO combat potentials is being maintained. This is indicated sufficiently convincingly, for instance, in the article "The Military Balance Between the Two Blocs in Conventional Armed Forces and Armaments" by French General (Retired) A. Sanguinetti published in a recent edition of the bourgeois magazine *Le Monde Diplomatique*. The author, with the figures at his fingertips, so to speak, thoroughly refutes the myth of Soviet military superiority.

It is also reasonable to ask the NATO leadership why it has been unable for 18 months to formulate its position on the Warsaw Pact's Budapest proposal of 1986 on the reduction of armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. Why do they not like, say, the method of removing disproportions on the principle that the side with superiority in each class of armaments implements more reductions? Why is there no support in NATO for the Warsaw Pact countries' proposal not merely for quantitative reductions in armaments and armed forces but also for qualitative changes in both alliances' groupings to preclude any possibility of surprise attack or of conducting offensive operations. A controlled withdrawal from borders of offensive types of weapons along with the subsequent creation along the line of contact of Warsaw Pact and NATO troops of reduced-armament zones and demilitarized zones could be the first step toward achieving this aim.

This is obviously not the aim toward which the United States and NATO are striving. The "arms upgrading" plans precisely illustrate their true intentions. This cannot fail to alarm the other side. The communique from the session of Warsaw Pact foreign ministers, held 28-29 October 1987 in Prague, stresses that "...statements by some Western spokesmen calling for 'compensation' for the upcoming elimination of U.S. missiles in Europe with the deployment of new nuclear and nonnuclear armaments and the creation of new military structures are provoking serious concern."

Kashlev: Vienna CSCE Talks 'Not Satisfactory'
LD231821 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] The meeting of representatives of the member-states taking part in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is continuing its work in Vienna. Our correspondent asked the leader of the Soviet delegation, Ambassador Yuriy Borisovich Kashlev, to speak about the talks.

[Begin Kashlev recording] A plenary meeting of the Vienna talks devoted to appraising what has been achieved and plans on how work will proceed, has just ended. If one speaks in brief, then of course the state of affairs at the Vienna meeting cannot be called satisfactory. Why is this? In actual fact, for the first several months the NATO countries ignored military-political questions. They failed to respond to our proposal to consider these issues, and sought, by all means, to sever them from those matters relating to disarmament and security, and from the all-European process. It was only at the end of July, under pressure from the socialist countries and from the neutral and nonaligned countries, that they agreed that we should consider both the issues of continuing the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, and the start of new talks on reducing the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

We have been resolutely seeking to ensure that the Stockholm conference is continued on the basis of its mandate, and that a new range of significant—in a military sense—confidence-building measures should be considered. We have also been able to discuss the general problems of disarmament in Europe. In the consultations taking place here between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states—the so-called Group of 23—elaboration of a mandate for future talks on conventional disarmament is continuing, and the decision has been made that these talks will start in 1988. This in itself is an achievement.

The situation in the humanitarian sphere is very complex. A number of NATO countries are acting from very maximalist positions, presenting, to speak plainly, unrealistic demands which can not be accepted by the socialist countries, and also not by many Western countries.

For example, the proposal has been put forward that all hitherto unresolved cases relating to the reunification of families and visits by relatives should be ended within 2 months after the Vienna meeting. There is also a demand to reduce the period of official secrecy [srok sekretnosti] in respect to emigrations so that the period of official secrecy is in force for just 1 year. There are also proposals by Western countries whereby after Vienna, any country should be given the opportunity to automatically convene a conference of 35 [as heard] states to consider humanitarian cases which are not being resolved on a bilateral basis—a very dubious venture. We have put forward a proposal to hold a conference in Moscow on general progress concerning humanitarian cooperation. This is a most significant proposal in this sphere. [end recording]

Correction to Surikov Interview on SDI Aims

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Surikov Views SDI Aims, Countermeasures," published in the 17 November Soviet Union *Daily Report*, page 2: Column one, paragraph four, sentence five should read: ...there would be no threat to the... (supplying negative).

Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Meeting

Yazov Leaves for Bucharest

PM241141 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Nov 87 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Departure for Bucharest"]

[Text] On 23 November Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, left Moscow for Bucharest to take part in the scheduled session of the Warsaw Pact states' defense ministers committee.

At the airport he was seen off by V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; USSR Deputy Defense Ministers Aviation Marshal A.N. Yefimov; Army General M.I. Sorokin; Army General D.S. Sukhorukov; and other officials.

The send-off party included Ion Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR.

Yazov Arrival Reported

LD231934 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Bucharest November 23 TASS—Alternate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Defense Minister Army General Dmitriy Yazov arrived here today for a regular meeting of the Defence Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

The Soviet guest was met at the airport by Alternate Member of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, Minister of National Defence of the Socialist Republic of Romania Colonel General Vasile Milea, by other officials.

Ministers' Meeting Opens

LD241626 Moscow TASS in English 1611 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Bucharest November 24 TASS—A regular meeting of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw treaty member states opened here today under the chairmanship of Colonel General Vasile Milea, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Taking part in the meeting are ministers of defense, Marshal of the USSR Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw treaty member states, and General of the Army Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw treaty member states.

Participants Named

LD241642 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1603 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Bucharest, Nov 24 (TASS) A routine session of the Defense Ministers' Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states opened here today.

Taking part in the session are:

Army General D. Dzhurov, minister of national defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Colonel General F. Karpati, minister of defense of the Hungarian People's Republic; General H. Kessler, minister of national defense of the German Democratic Republic; Army General F. Siwicki, minister of national defense of the Polish People's Republic; Colonel General V. Milea, minister of national defense o. the Socialist Republic of Romania; Army General D.T. Yazov, minister of Defense of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; Army General M. Vaclavik, minister of national defense of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic· Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, member states; and Army General A.I. Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states.

Present at the session are military delegations from the Warsaw Pact member states and the joint command of the Armed Forces.

The session is chaired by the minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Delegations of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states today laid wreaths at the monument to heroes of the struggle for the freedom of the people, the motherland and for socialism and at the monument to Soviet troops who fell in battles for the liberation of Romania from fascism.

Yazov Awards Milea

LD242041 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Nov 87

[V. Korablev report from Bucharest; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The delegations of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states laid wreaths today at the memorial to heroes of the struggle for freedom of the homeland and at the memorial to Soviet soldiers who fell in the battles for Romania's liberation from fascism.

On the instructions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Army General Yazov presented Colonel General Vasil Milea, Romanian minister of national defense, with the Order of the October Revolution in Bucharest to mark his services in the cause of strengthening the

combat community between the USSR Armed Forces and the army of the Socialist Republic of Romania and on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

Having given thanks for the lofty award, Vasile Milea stressed that it is a new expression of friendship and cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union, the Romanian Communist Party and the CPSU, as well as the armed forces of both countries.

Socialist News Agencies Conference Opens

LD241421 Moscow TASS in English 1044 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—The heads of the wire services and press agencies of socialist and a number of socialist-oriented developing nations opened a regular conference in the Soviet capital today.

The attendees include the heads of the news agencies of the People's Republic of Angola (ANGOP), the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (BAKHTAR), the People's Republic of Bulgaria (BTA, *Sofia-Press*), the Hungarian People's Republic (MTI, *Budapress*), the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (VNA, *Vinapress*), the German Democratic Republic (ADN, *Panorama*), the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (ANA), the People's Republic of Kampuchea (SPK), the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (KCNA), the Republic of Cuba (*Prensa Latina*, AIN), the Lao People's Democratic Republic (KPL), the People's Republic of Mozambique (AIM), the Mongolian People's Republic (MONTSAME, *Mongolpress*), the Republic of Nicaragua (ANN), the Polish People's Republic (PAP, CAF, *Interpress*), the Socialist Republic of Romania (AGERPRES), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (TASS, APN), the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CETEKA, ORBIS) and the People's Republic of Ethiopia (ENA).

Chairman-coordinator Dao Tung, director-general of the *Vietnam News Agency*, in his report and other participants in their statements pointed to the constructive and concrete nature of cooperation between the news agencies in exchanging their news services and covering life in other countries as fully as possible. This has been especially apparent in their coverage of celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which constituted a major political event in international affairs.

The conference is discussing in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere the pressing issues of increasing the efficiency of the news agencies' work and developing their cooperation in the light of the results of the celebrations of the 70th October Revolution anniversary and the decisions of the congresses of the fraternal parties.

Further Report

LD241931 Prague CTK in English 1415 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow Nov 24 (CTK)—Expansion of cooperation and integration of activities of news agencies in exchanging information and photo services are on the agenda of a conference of general directors of information and news agencies from the socialist countries and states with socialist orientation.

The three-day conference is attended by representatives of 29 agencies from Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Chairman of the conference Dao Tung, VNA general director, as well as other participants stressed in their addresses the need for constructive and concrete forms of cooperation between news agencies and for more integrated and comprehensive reports on life in the individual socialist countries.

CTK General Director Otakar Svercina spoke in his address of the contribution of the Czechoslovak news agency to improving the propaganda and information activity in the period of restructuring and speeding up the development of the Czechoslovak society. He pointed to the significance of closer cooperation between news agencies and the strengthening of integration in all spheres of their work, including the modernization of technology.

A regular session of Photo International—an organization coordinating telephoto services of information and news agencies of the socialist countries—will be held within the current conference.

'Top Priority' on INF Treaty, Upcoming Summit

LD2251453 Moscow in English to North America 0001 GMT 25 Nov 87

["Top Priority" program presented by Vladimir Pozner, with Dr Radomir Bogdanov, and Igor Molishenko, member of the United States and Canada Institute]

[Text] [Announcer] In this edition, the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit, the INF Treaty, its assessment by different forces and its probable results:

[Pozner] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. This is Vladimir Pozner, and I present "Top Priority." With me on the panel: Dr Radomir Bogdanov, who you know very well, and [word indistinct] today for Dr Plekhanov, we have another gentleman from the Institute of United States and Canada Studies here in Moscow, Igor Molishenko.

As we go on the air, it seems that the final touches have been put to the INF treaty — of course, they discussed some other issues as well — nevertheless, it looks like on the summit meeting between 7-10 December, the INF treaty indeed will be signed which should be applauded by just about everyone, and I think most people do applaud it. Nevertheless, over the past few weeks, perhaps one might say, we hear in the United States people somehow downplaying INF, saying that, oh well, it's not that all that important — it's secondary, although before that it seemed that INF was a virtual impossibility, that it was very difficult to achieve, that it was — it would, could — be a major, major agreement. Now we hear from some it's really not all that important. To what do you attribute this change in tune? Dr Plekhanov.

[Bogdanov] Well, I'm Dr Bogdanov. I'm sorry.

[Pozner] Well, you see I'm so used to seeing Dr Plekhanov.

[Bogdanov] I will tell him.

[Pozner] Tell him that, yes.

[Bogdanov] Well, Vladimir, I don't feel like defending this treaty, because if I defend it it may look as we need it and the other side does not need it. This treaty is needed by both sides. It is important for both sides, and if you have political playing around, that is rather what's happening in the American end, not at our end.

[Pozner] That's true, that's true.

[Bogdanov] At our end it is clear. It is important from both political and military point of view. It is important because it's the beginning of the very long road until we get rid of nuclear weapons. It is just the first step and we do not over exaggerate the importance of that. We think it is [word indistinct] without any exaggeration and we look at that as the first step to begin with dealing with nuclear weapons. And mind you, we never forget that INF is just — it just needs some supplement. I call it supplement — say something like a framework agreement on major cuts in strategic weapons with the — provided that the ABM Treaty 72 is in force for agreeable period of time. So, we don't say it's something miraculous, something...[Bogdanov changes thought] It is really important, it has historical importance in that we are scrapping from the earth two categories of nuclear arms. Now what's happening in Washington? I'm sorry to say the usual thing. Being in that business for the last 25 years, I am not surprised. I would be surprised if it does not happen. Now you'll have a kind of liberalization of all the forces — contra forces, if you like — contra any agreements with the Soviet Union. Now they are not able to say it is bad, you should not sign it because it is within the reach, it's just very (?nearby). But what they do just to spoil the picture, and to [word indistinct] the seeds of — to plant the seeds of doubt, they say no, it has no importance. Well, let's leave it with them, and let people judge whether it is important or not. But I'm not to defend it.

[Pozner] I understand. Dr Molishenko, how do you feel? Do you also believe that this new tune we're hearing out of Washington that seems to say that the INF treaty is really kind of secondary, not so important, nothing to be excited about? What do you attribute it to?

[Molishenko] Well, I think that to a very large extent it's a problem of the [words indistinct] arms race, I would say, because the INF treaty contradicts it. You know, after all, that the Soviet Union is willing to dismantle much more nuclear weapons in Europe that the United States. And you know, from the common point of view, it's nonsense, because when due to the arms control treaties when one side is going to sacrifice much more weapons than other. [as heard] But the Soviet Union is willing to do this step because you know the whole problem is political. It is not the problem of numbers, it's not the military technological problem, it is political. And that's why the Soviet Union was willing to sacrifice all (?those) weapons. But a lot of people in Washington aren't happy at all with the step of the Soviet Union, and the more so to think it's just to downplay the importance of the treaty. And so it's a kind of a natural reaction, I would say. By the way [words indistinct] not only in Washington; I am sorry, let me add about the Western Europe, for example. For example, quite recently I came from the Netherlands, and you know that in this country there was a lot of movement against...

[Pozner interrupts] Deployment?

[Molishenko] Yes, against the deployment.

[Pozner] of the American missiles.

[Molishenko] Yes, but now a lot of people don't look too much excited about the (?prospect of) the INF. And the reason is, as they say, that there are a lot of other problems, and it's true, of course.

[Bogdanov] I have some objections about what Dr Molishenko has said just now. I very much object that INF is only political problem. It's not only political problem, it's political and military too, and if you look at it only as a political (?problem), we may make a lot of mistakes.

[Pozner] Why do you say that?

[Bogdanov] Because you know, you have something like about 2000 warheads, very, very precise warheads on Pershing-2 and cruise missiles, with the aim of decapitating the Soviet leadership. You destroy it, is it important from the military point of view or not? At the same time you have Soviet operational tacitical missiles with the intense range in GDR and Czechoslovakia, aimed at Western Europe. It's another military danger, and you also dismantle it, you also destroy it. Isn't it a factor which decreases the military confrontation? I believe it does, it does.

[Pozner] In other words, what you are saying is that when we discuss INF we should not play down the military importance of the agreement.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, maybe, maybe I am wrong. Maybe Dr Molishenko is just emphasizing the political side. But I still insist that it's both political and military.

[Molishenko] Well, I agree and disagree at the same time, because you know, it depends on the point of view on nuclear weapons, and from my own point of view, these are not weapons, not military weapons. They're not usable as military weapons because it's just weapons of the holocaust. You can't wage a real war with nuclear weapons, and in this respect I regard them first of all as a means of intimidation and nuclear blackmail.

[Bogdanov] Yes, I agree with you, but...

[Pozner, interrupting] Are you saying...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] you have them deployed...

[Pozner, interupting] Let me jump in here for a minute. Your view is a very interesting one, Dr Molishenko, and what I would like to ask you then is this. Let us suppose that in Washington General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan in principle agree to reduce strategic offensive nuclear weapons by 50% and work begins on an agreement to be signed when President Reagan visits the Soviet Union at the beginning of 1988. Would you say that that too is just political, because after all, stragtegic nuclear offensive weapons are even more powerful — far more powerful — than the INF. Therefore they too are are only instruments of intimidation and in reality war can not be waged with them, so would you say that in the military sense such an agreement would have no importance?

[Molishenko] Well, I really don't quite understand what does make you so uneasy about the term political.

[Pozner] No, no, no, it's not — I want to know your viewpoint, that's all.

[Molishenko] Well, you know my viewpoint that even the reduction of by 50% of the strategic weapons, you know, would leave us at the level of...

[Pozner, interrupting] More than enough.

[Molishenko] Yes, more than enough and there was such a level about 15 years ago if I am correct. But it would be extremely important, you know in any respect, in military, political, psychological and soforth because it would create absolutely new — well, I would say again political situation. You know [word indistinct] it would really change the (?world) because we now have absolutely no idea how the world would look like with this process of reductions of nuclear weapons. We never had this experience before.

[Pozner] Let me move back to something you've mentioned, about the fact that in the INF agreement the Soviet Union is going to destroy far more, a far greater number, of warheads, than the United States. I was recently in Riga, invited to talk to audiences there, and several times I received questions from just people in the audiences, asking me is it not dangerous that we have agreed to sacrifice a greater number of warheads; are we not going too far in this; are the Americans not going to see this as proof that the only way to deal with the Soviet Union is through a position of force. That when you talk tough to the Soviet Union you get results and that is why the Soviets have made the kind of [changes thought] have agreed to take the kind of steps they've taken. How would you answer that question?

[Bogdanov] You know, as to me I don't mind what they will think of us. (?If) it leads us to a reasonable solution, who is right, who is wrong — let history judge. What we have done now, we have started (?to say we have sacrificed), I say no, we have demonstrated a commonsense approach to the very very hot problem. Some people say that you have a correlation four to one [words indistinct] Soviet warheads to one missile, so what if it is reasonable. Number 1. Number 2: does it decrease our security — no, it doesn't, it increases (?it), it enhances our security. It may sound, it may sound paradoxical but I believe with the coming down with the level of nuclear, nuclear warheads you're just enhancing your security, not, not, not decreasing your security. And number 3: We demonstrate a very very substantial new thinking in that field because old thinking dictates to you, that you should not sacrifice your what you call...

[Pozner, interrupting] Advantage?

[Bogdanov] Your advantage and you should speak to your advantage — no, new thinking says if you have that you should balance your advantage not by building up but building down. That's what we are doing.

[Pozner] So Dr Bogdanov, what you are saying is that we should discount any American views to the effect that dealing with Soviet Union from a position of strength has forced the Soviet Union to compromise; that we should [passage indistinct].

[Bogdanov] If it pleases our American counterparts, ok, let them think so, that's my answer.

[Pozner] What do you say Dr Molishenko?

[Molishenko] Well you know, frankly I would say that for me it's not very important how our willingness to dismantle these weapons is regarded in Washington, but I am very much concerned how our people, how our public, views this problem. Because I would disagree with Professor Bogdanov that we demonstrated a commonsense approach to the INF; we did not, because it's against the commonsense to sacrifice this kind of advantage. And you know, talking about the questions, the questions you were asked in Riga, I would say that they were perfectly commonsense questions. But the only problem is that we can't, can't judge the nuclear balance with commonsense standards. Because you know, in the past, if you have more soldiers you have an advantage [words indistinct].

[Bogdanov] Look, I made one point which is very important one — old thinking and new thinking, please don't forget that.

[Molishenko] OK, ok, yes if commonsense — in a sense it is commonsense in the new thinking area. Well, and concluding my remark, I would say that yes, our public and not only our public [word indistinct] and American public as well should be educated about the new situation with nuclear weapons. That it is absolutely meaningless, you know, just to count them number by number, warhead by warheads, launcher by launcher and things like that, it simply doesn't work.

[Pozner] Well, as we wind up today's program, while the INF agreement is going to be the centerpiece obviously of the summit in Washington, the leaders of the two countries will be looking at several other areas. Human rights is one of them, certainly arms control and progress in the area of disarmament is another, certainly the first in importance. Finally there are regional issues and bilateral issues. In a general way, without going into too many details, do yo believe that there will be progress achieved in that area. I know that predicting is a bit of a problem, but I would like you to make your prediction on the basis of your experience, your knowledge, and your feeling about what today's situation is like. Do you see progress in those areas at the summit? Dr Bogdanov.

[Bogdanov] Vladimir, I do.

[Pozner] You do?

[Bogdanov] Yes.

[Pozner] You do?

[Bogdanov] Yeah.

[Pozner] And that, you want to leave it at that without going into any more details right?

[Bogdanov] Yes, because we have no time.

[Pozner] Ok. Good enough. What about you Dr Molishenko? Are you optimistic?

[Molishenko] Well, well I wouldn't say in terms of predictions, but I would like very much, it's my desire, to have progress in these areas simply because it's important (?to have a) healthy normal (?relationship) within two great powers. You know, you know, with the very small number of issues or areas or whatever, you know it's necessary to have a lot of humanitarian cooperation or cultural cooperation; you know, we should have the rapprochement not between only two states or two governments but between two societies as well, and it's quite important and (?that's why) I would like to see progress in these areas as well.

[Pozner] Granted you would like to see it, but what is your feeling about what will happen in Washington. Do you, do you expect that there will be progress in those areas that we've just mentioned? or not? Are you hopeful?

[Molishenko] Yes, I am hopeful to see the beginning of this process.

[Pozner] Yes, well that's, I must say that I am too, and before we say goodbye for this time to our listeners I would like to have your view on one final issue. To what extent, in your opinion, will the INF treaty and its ratification — incidentally will it be ratified — effect people's thinking in the world?

[Bogdanov] In a very big way, in a very big way. First of all it will demonstrate to everybody that it is possible. Period.

[Pozner] Do you think it will be ratified by the U.S. Congress?

[Bogdanov] Oh, you want me to predict?

[Pozner] Alright, you (?don't) want to be pinned down. Alright. How about you Dr Molishenko? Are you one of these people who likes to go out on a limb and make a statement, or are you going to be cautious like a scientist and say well, we'll wait and see?

[Molishenko] Well, frankly, I think that it is going to be ratified but with a lot of, of course, discussions, with a lot of hoopla around this agreement, with proposals, counterproposals and things like that. It's all too understandable you know, if you know how political system in the United States works. And I think that in the long run this agreement would have enormous impact on our thinking, on our mentality, because, for the first time it would be demonstrated that the situation is reversible and it is extemely important.

[Pozner] Thank you very much. On behalf of "Top Priority", this is Vladimir Pozner inviting you to join us next week at the same time.

NATO Pressures Allies on Missile Deployment

PM251221 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 87 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Kharlanov dispatch: "No One Indifferent"]

[Excerpt] Brussels, November—[Passage omitted] It is possible to say that the broadest public circles in the Netherlands and Belgium are now unanimous on the question of eliminating cruise missiles. This has to be taken into account by the governments of both countries, which have supported the conclusion of a U.S.-USSR agreement in their official statements. At the same time, however, fierce pressure is also being put on them.

At the recent session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group in the Californian city of Monterey this pressure was exerted on the countries directly affected by the problems of "Euromissiles" in several areas. First, "hawks" demanded that the states taking delivery of medium-range missiles observe their placement schedule even after the U.S.-USSR agreement is concluded and right up to its ratification and validation. Belgian Defense Minister F. X. de Donnea disagreed with that demand, declaring that the delivery of new missiles to Florennes will be stopped right after the agreement is signed. He was supported by Netherlands Defense Minister W. van Eekelen, who demanded that the question of the cruise missile placement schedule be discussed once again in NATO organs.

The second alarm signal to issue from Monterey was the report that an experts' report was submitted for discussion by the defense ministers gathered there. It envisages the deployment of new ground-, sea-, and air-based nuclear means in West European countries and the adjacent seas after the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles is signed, so that, after the "Euromissiles" have been eliminated, the NATO armies will have not only not reduced but have even increased this overall nuclear potential. As U.S. General J. Galvin, supreme commander in chief, NATO Armed Forces, Europe, declared, the United States' European allies must not only join in a new round of the "nuclear deterrence" policy, but also cover the costs arising out of this. He also added that the NATO armies will step up the conventional arms race to "compensate" for the elimination of two classes of missiles.

The peace-loving public of Belgium and the Netherlands is seriously alarmed at the NATO plans. "We are obliged to prevent their implementation," Mario Gotto, secretary of the Belgian Christian Workers' Movement, said. "The signing of the 'Euromissiles' agreement will not mean the end of our struggle. On the contrary, the antiwar movements struggling for nuclear missile disarmament must redouble their efforts."

Gerasimov on VOA, Other Topics

LD242122 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] A briefing was held in the press center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today in connection with the expected speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in the U.S. Congress. Comrade Gerasimov, head of the Information Administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke at the briefing. He said, in particular:

[Begin recording] Invitations have come in addressed to the Soviet leader from dozens of senators and congressmen, including the leaders of both houses of Congress, who wish to take advantage of a unique opportunity for a substantive and constructive conversation.

This natural striving for direct communication, for contact at political leadership level has caused veritable panic among the ultras, who are striving to complicate that dialogue at any price.

The Voice of America radio station has disseminated a commentary reflecting the point of view of the U.S. Government. It claimed that Soviet and Afghan troops were allegedly using terror tactics with regard to the peaceful population of Afghanistan, in particular, that they were using camouflaged mines against children. Those claims are from start to finish false and ill-intentioned. They have absolutely no foundation whatsoever. This anti-Soviet campaign of disinformation reflects the striving of certain circles in the United States to poison the atmosphere on the threshold of the meeting between the leaders of the two countries, at the moment when the public of our countries is hopefully expecting real positive advances in Soviet-U.S. relations.

It is not the first time that the U.S. propaganda services, including the Voice of America radio station, have spread disinformation. They are concealing the real

criminals, and are, it would seem, playing the role of accomplices in the murders of peaceful people, striving to lead the international investigation along the wrong track.

But of course it is not these moods of blind hostility that determine the dominant feelings of Americans. The majority of them are awaiting the Soviet-U.S. summit talks with approval and hope. [end recording]

Soviet UN Envoy on Palestinian Problem

LD242243 Moscow TASS in English 2224 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 24 TASS—The Middle East impasse, central to which is the Palestinian problem, can be overcome through convening under the United Nations auspices an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, and of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. Such was the key-note of the speeches of virtually all participants in the discussion of the question of Palestine that was continued in the U.N. General Assembly today. The question of Palestine has been on its agenda for 40 years now.

Representatives of Mauritania, the Yemen Arab Republic, Saudi Arabia, Czechoslovakia, Vietnam and many other countries noted that the international community in numerous decisions of the United Nations has formulated the principles of the solution of the Palestine problem: the implementation of the Palestinian People's inalienable right to return to the native home, self-determination, creation of their own state, withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied territories. Speakers are of the opinion that an international peace conference is the only suitable means of a peaceful, fair and all-round solution of the conflict.

Such a forum called upon to resolve in a cardinal way the key problems of the Arab-Israeli conflict should, undoubtedly, be thoroughly preapred, said the USSR chief envoy to the United Nations Aleksandr Belonogov. This is why the USSR last year advanced the proposal to create a preparatory committee in the Security Council framework. We now hold as before that all aspects of the conference's activity should be most thoroughly analysed in advance. And though we have not yet come close to its convocation, it can be noted that the support of the world community for such an approach strengthened considerably in the past year. Political potential has been created which is capable through the United Nations mechanism to give the necessary impulse to the process of the Middle East settlement. Regrettably, it has not yet been fully brought into play, though there exist real opportunities for effective inter-action of members of the Security Council, inc uding its permanent members.

It is now important to step up the efforts for the shaping of an international consensus on the need for convening the conference, the Soviet envoy said.

Manufacturing Equipment Exhibition Opens

LD241353 Moscow TASS in English 1027 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—Improving the quality of output is the main subject of a foreign exhibition that opened in Moscow today.

The show has been organized by West Germany's Nowea International and the Soviet Association Expocenter. A total of 50 companies based in Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Holland, the United States, West Germany, France, Switzerland and West Berlin have displayed products demonstrating the impact which new materials and manufacturing processes, the automation of production and measuring techniques has on the quality of output.

The main criterion in choosing exhibits has been the advanced use of electronics, reliability and high precision of control and measurement instruments and equipment.

The organizers have travelled from the premise that the Soviet Union is making special emphasis on improving the quality of output in many industries.

Instruments and devices for customs inspection are also on show.

The exhibition will stay open till December 1.

United States & Canada

Summit, Potential 'Radical Improvement' Noted

LD241342 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Nikolay Shishlin Commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] We present a talk by Political Observer Nikolay Shishlin on the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit. At the microphone is the author.

[Shishlin] Of course the liveliest topic in international affairs at the moment is the forthcoming summit, the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Washington. I would immediately like to draw attention to the fact that numerous commentaries on the forthcoming event in a strange way for some reason or another lose sight of the question of where the meeting will be taking place. To be sure the last meeting on either Soviet or U.S. soil between leaders of the two largest states in the world took place 13 years ago. I am talking about the meeting in Vladivostok. Indeed, the fact that this time the meeting is taking place in Washington on U.S. soil indicates the distance covered since November 1985 when Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met Ronald Reagan for the first time in Geneva, Switzerland.

Probably even more distance could have been covered. Be that as it may, the distance that has been covered is considerable, not so much from the viewpoint of political distance but from the viewpoint of the results that we expect this new summit dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States to produce. Indeed the fact that right now the last periods and commas are being put on a possible agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles in itself really opens up a new page in the long history of difficult talks on limiting and reducing the arms race. For the first time strict, tough verification [kontrol] measures are being provided in accordance with the decision to eliminate these classes of weapons.

In essence, for the first time a step is being taken to really lower the levels of military stability [as heard] and thus the prospect is opened up for breakthroughs in other areas of this sensitive area of limiting and reducing the arms race.

It is thought that the Washington meeting will make it possible to concentrate attention on the key problem of disarmament, namely, profound, 50% cuts in strategic offensive weapons with obligatory strengthening of the conditions of the ABM Treaty. But it is true the thought might immediately arise: Surely there are great difficulties in formulating such an agreement. One can agree with that, but nonetheless I would like to draw attention to the fact that there is a common understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States that a 50% reduction is an immediate aim regarding strategic offensive weapons.

There is also a common understanding that the conditions of the ABM Treaty must be strengthened. But regarding the period during which the sides will pledge voluntary nonwithdrawal from this treaty is, in the final analysis, not so important.

Indeed there is also the Geneva statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the President of the United States, which says clearly that the task is to prevent the militarization of space, not to transfer the arms race into space, and to end it on earth.

So why can we not concentrate now on interpreting this formula of not transferring the arms race into space, which would of course open up the possibility of outlining the bounds of what is permitted and what is not permitted in this area, and thus of reaching a comprehensive compromise envisioning both a 50% reduction in strategic offensive weapons and simultaneous strengthening of the conditions of the ABM Treaty.

I would like to point out that the United States has an interest in this, as does the Soviet Union. The United States should be well aware, and should keep in mind, that the Soviet strategic forces are fully capable of reaching the territory of the United States, while the classes of weapons that will probably be eliminated now are not, properly speaking, capable of reaching U.S. territory. The compilation of a sort of mandate for the delegations that will conduct the negotiations on strategic offensive weapons, a mandate charging them to press ahead with these negotiations, could make it possible that the U.S. President's visit to the Soviet Union next year could result in the President bringing with him solid [solidnyy] baggage—drawn up, of course, with the participation of Soviet representatives in the negotiations that are being conducted in Geneva, and which will, of course, be continued.

There is no doubt that discussions will be continued in Washington on other aspects of disarmament problems, including the elimination of chemical weapons. This, I think, is a very promising and vitally important direction, and in essence, the contours of the agreement—indeed, more than the contours, it seems to me that this agreement is already 90-95% ready. It needs only political will and additional efforts for the elimination of chemical weapons to become a fact, to become reality.

I assume that the Washington discussions will enable progress to be made on reducing so-called conventional weapons, too; these are, incidentally, generally described as conventional, but in fact they have very great destructive capabilities, and are extremely expensive. Progress in this direction has so far been very sluggish, unfortunately, if there has been any at all. But in itself the asymmetry, given a certain balance of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, offers the opportunity quite simply of cutting off all these asymmetries and aligning the levels of various classes of weapons, in order to

maintain the balance, but at a far lower level. Appropriate proposals on this account have already been put forward by the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Pact.

The agenda for the Soviet-U.S. meeting will undoubtedly be rich, tightly packed, and varied. The leaders of the two countries will of course be able to exchange opinions on all aspects of the current world situation, including regional conflicts. Also extremely important, they will be able to have a well-grounded [sostoyatelnyy] discussion about the state of Soviet-U.S. relations and the opportunities for improving them. Here, naturally, one-sided efforts are quite fruitless; here mutual efforts alone are what is needed, mutual readiness to move toward improving relations. Then it will emerge that both in politics and in the economic and spiritual spheres, and also in the sphere of human contacts, there really is unlimited scope for cooperation between our country and the United States—cooperation that not only does not exclude competition, but includes a compulsory element of competition between our socialist country and the United States, a bourgeois country.

We shall not now hazard a guess as to how the summit meeting will end, but I think it is a very big step, a very serious step along the way toward affirming the new political thinking, toward transfering the new political thinking into practical steps, into practical deeds aimed at bringing about a radical improvement in international relations, including Soviet-U.S. relations.

Kornilov Discusses U.S. Reaction to Treaty

LD241846 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

If there had existed a barometer to determine the political climate on the planet, the world would have seen its hand gradually moving today from the point "overcast". There are grounds to believe so as the protracted process of Soviet-U.S. talks on disarmament problems looks likely to produce at long last the long-awaited results—the agreement to eliminate American and Soviet medium- and shorter-range missiles. The road to this agreement passed through the summit meeting in Geneva, where after heated discussions the sides agreed that winning the nuclear war was impossible. It also passed through Reykjavik bringing in an intellectual breakthrough in all areas of disarmament.

Prominent political and public leaders, the public of different countries, including the USA, welcomes the opening possibility of eliminating two classes of deadly nuclear weapons. Such turn of events, however, invokes quite a different, completely opposite reaction among militarists. The closer draws the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, the more sophisticated become the proponents of the arms race and adherents of imperialist policy of strength in their attempts to uphold their positions and exacerbate the situation.

This is evidenced, among other things, by statements of those NATO leaders who time and again hold forth on the urgent need to "rearm" Western Europe by deploying on the territory of a nubmer of NATO countries new armaments with nuclear warheads in view of the reduction of medium-range missiles. One is certain to be on his guard when he hears the voices of such ultra conservatives as Senators Helms and Symms from Washington who are trying to call in question the expediency of the ratification by the Congress of the treaty on the elimination of medium-range missiles. At times they go as far as [illegible] like Symms did for example, that to make Soviet-U.S. agreements really effective the Soviets must de[illegible] to repudiate Marxism. The world pub[illegible] that the agreement involves dismant[illegible] nuclear weapons that threatens the [illegible] of peoples. The inveterate anti[illegible] are still nurturing wild dreams [illegible] of the Soviet political system.

An atmosphere of "antidetente", which is being artificially fostered by certain circles in the USA, gives rise to all manner of militarist "committees" and "groups", which spring up like so many poisonous plants on a marsh engaging in blowing out the hackneyed fabrications about the mythical "Soviet threat" and the "aggressiveness of Moscow". One of the concrete examples is the so-called Stop the Treaty Committee in the USA, whose members send out a certain appeal threatening the man in the street with the tragic consequences allegedly posed to the West by the alimination of medium-range missiles. Does not the position of certain Western organs of "free press", primarily American ones, look strange when they willingly offer their pages for such militaristic exercises and all manner of ill-intentioned fabrications instead of of forming a business-like and constructive positive atmosphere on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting?

In his day Winston Churchill, speaking about the dangers of atomic age, noted that science could bring stone age to the earth. Many years later these words by the British politician were repeated during a conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev by former U.S. President Richard Nixon. Mentioning his meeting with Nixon and speaking about the Soviet-U.S. relations, Mikhail Gorbachev in his book *Perestroyka: New Thinking for Our Country and the World* stressed that in our time mankind had no other alternative than that of peaceful coexistence and disarmament. "Honestly, it is high time the relations between the two great nations were made worthy of their historical role," he wrote. Will a really major step be made in this direction in Washington? The answer will be given already in the nearest future. As for

the Soviet Union it is ready to act in such a way as to make the age of Soviet-U.S. confrontation recede into the past as quickly as possible...

Carlucci Remarks on Arms Talks Reported
LD242306 Moscow TASS in English 2247 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 24 TASS—The new U.S. secretary of defense, Frank Carlucci, spoke at the Pentagon today and answered questions by journalists.

"It always appeared to me that there was a will on the part of the Soviet Union to reach an agreement (on medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles—TASS), and there was not substantial risk in saying we have an agreement in principle."

The U.S. secretary of defense expressed disagreement with assertions that the U.S. "might make a mistake on this INF treaty because they are under the pressure of meeting the summit deadline." Frank Carlucci reminded that he had taken part in all meetings between Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and in meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. "When Shevardnadze came over here (in) September we reached an agreement in principle, and we emphasized that it was in principle, that there were several rather large and complicated issues, such as the Pershings-1A's that had to be dealt with. Once those were dealt with, and once the Soviets and we had committed to a certain type of verification regime, then all that needed to be done was to work out the details of verification."

Frank Carlucci stressed that the USA wanted "the best possible verification regime". The U.S. secretary of defense also expressed optimism about the possibility of reaching agreements with the USSR on reducing strategic nuclear arsenals. He reminded that an agreement had been reached in Reykjavik on their 50 per cent reduction. "We've had a thorough discussion on the other sublimits," he continued. "And based on the dialogue that has taken place in the past month or so, I for one, am reasonably confident we can reach an agreement on sublimits."

However, the chief of the Pentagon stated that "the President will not compromise in any way on the SDI program." "If they (USSR) come over here and, once again, and try to find ways to stop or cripple the SDI program, that's a non-starter" he stated. Frank Carlucci said the USA was not going to "negotiate limits on a research and development program" within the SDI framework.

Agayants on U.S. Enlisting Aid in Gulf
LD241639 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Nikolay Agayants Commentary]

[Text] According to a DPA correspondent's report from Bonn the United States is continuing to pressure its West European partners, and the FRG above all, with the aim of enlisting their active support for its actions in the Persian Gulf. A mayak commentary with Nikolay Agayants at the microphone:

[Agayants] The progress of events in the explosive region off the Iran-Iraq coast is naturally causing alarm for world public opinion. In spite of all the appeals to settle the protracted military conflict between Tehran and Baghdad, it seems the sides are not only not seeking ways to put an end to it, but are, on the contrary, stepping up combat actions—increasing the power of bombing and artillery strikes, and increasing infantry troop operations. The United States and its NATO allies have not stopped pouring fat on the fire, whipping up tension in the area of the Persian Gulf.

Andre Giraud, the French defense minister, has just been there on an inspection trip and has said in a television interview that French warships will not leave the Persian Gulf until, he said, civil navigation has become completely safe. The United States, which has taken the most powerful naval fleet since the Vietnam war to the Iran-Iraq coast, is concerned about freedom of navigation in international waters in a similarly peculiar way. The escalation of the U.S. military presence—and today this is evident to everyone—threatens that a localized conflict might grow into a wide-scale conflict. In this connection, the chairman of the Iranian Parliament, Hashemi-Rafsanjani, has called on the Iranian people "to be prepared for any surprises as long as U.S. naval forces remain in the region."

Washington, however, continues to play with fire. Also, it is striving by all means possible to bring its North Atlantic bloc allies, the FRG in particular, into this adventure. As *Der Spiegel* writes, the Pentagon has sent the Bonn government two lists of priority measures for providing the United States with political and military aid. What does Washington want? *Der Spiegal* gives the following answer: Bonn is to stir the other NATO countries into stepping up their actions in the Persian Gulf. It is also expected of the FRG that the armed forces of these countries, in accordance with what is set by the Pentagon, make reconnaissance flights, and in the event of a worsening of the crisis be ready to transport U.S. military equipment into the Gulf zone. The U.S. would also like FRG naval vessels ultimately to replace U.S. frigates moving out of the Mediterranean into the Persian Gulf, and so on and so forth. These plans are, as we can see, as grand in scale as they are dangerous.

For the moment, and I stress, for the moment, to judge from what is published in the West German press the FRG Government has given no reaction whatsoever to the solicitations of Washington. But what does tomorrow hold in store?

Verity Creates Diplomatic 'Turmoil' With Japan

LD250818 Moscow TASS in English 0728 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Tokyo November 25 TASS—TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin reports:

Many departments at the Japanese Foreign Ministry are currently in a state of turmoil. With ministry spokesmen offering urgent explanations to newsmen and disturbing cables flashed to the country's embassy in the United States one after another.

These developments are a result of another diplomatic scandal between Tokyo and Washington, which has been provoked, either deliberately or unwittingly, by U.S. Commerce Secretary William Verity.

Speaking in a U.S. television interview several days ago, he caustically derided Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno as a downright ignoramus. Verity claimed that Uno had demonstrated an amazing lack of knowledge about the realities of relations between the two countries during recent talks with a U.S. economic delegation.

A written rebuttal has already been drafted in Tokyo to prove that the foreign minister is far from a know-nothing as far as trade contradictions with Washington are concerned.

And the Japanese Embassy in the United States has been ordered to get "satisfactory explanations" from the Reagan administration about Verity's offending remarks.

It is not the first time that the U.S. commerce secretary has indulged in ridiculing Far Eastern allies in public. As recently as last month he openly called his partners in Tokyo "Japs".

The commerce secretary, However, is not alone in this kind of verbal exercise. A few days ago influential American Senator John Rockefeller made open attacks on Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, describing him as a passive politician incapable of taking serious decisions.

The sharp economic contradictions between Washington and Tokyo, the newspaper *Sankei Shimbun* said, had now taken "a somewhat strange tack", often developing into personal insults.

It is believed here that the current spate of "incorrect remarks" may well be a well-considered tactic of bringing pressure to bear on Japan in a bid to make it agree to further concessions.

IZVESTIYA Recounts Utah CW Plant Visit

PM251025 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Unnamed own correspondent report: "United States: After Shikhany, Tooele"]

[Text] Washington—A delegation of Soviet diplomats and experts dealing with chemical disarmament questions is in Salt Lake City, the main city in Utah. The delegation is headed by Yu.K. Nazarkin, USSR representative to the [Geneva] Disarmament Conference. The visit's program includes a visit to the U.S. Army chemical forces base at Tooele near Salt Lake City.

The Tooele visit is a return visit for Soviet specialists. Six weeks ago, at the beginning of October, official representatives from 45 countries, including U.S. experts, visited the Soviet military base at Shikhany. There they had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with samples of chemical munitions and with the methods for disarming and destroying them elaborated in the USSR.

On the first day of their visit the delegation saw an exhibition of U.S. Army chemical munitions. Aerial bombs, shells, missiles, and mines filled with chemical warfare agents, with plaques alongside indicating the weight, the size of the shell, and the name of the toxin, were in individual compartments in a spacious building like a factory workshop. For the most part they contain neuroparalytic toxins possessing a casualty-producing capability.

It is planned to inspect an experimental installation for disarming and destroying obsolete unserviceable munitions which are to be decommissioned. U.S. officials, including Ambassador M. Friedersdorf, U.S. representative at the talks in Geneva, reported to the delegation members and to journalists covering the visit that the U.S. experimental installation makes it possible to charge and destroy chemical munitions in conditions of complete security for the technical personnel involved in this operation. At the same time they stated that plans for producing binary weapons have not been revoked.

Yu.K. Nazarkin shared with journalists his assessments of the importance of the exchange of experts' visits.

"We regard our visit to Tooele as a confidence-building measure. Specialists from the United States and other countries earlier visited the military site at Shikhany in our country."

"An important moment has arrived in the talks in Geneva on banning chemical armaments," Yu.K. Nazarkin said. "We have managed to resolve all fundamental questions, the work has moved to the final stage, so it is particularly important to do everything possible

to successfully achieve the aim of the talks—the conclusion of a convention to ban and destroy chemical weapons. The USSR has already stopped production of chemical weapons in order to facilitate the success of the talks. However, unfortunately, the United States has not followed our example and is planning in the near future to begin production of a new generation of chemical armaments--binary weapons. This cannot fail to alarm everyone who is interested in progress at the talks."

Further on Visit

PM251039 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch under the "Facts, Events, Opinions" rubric: "Such Exchanges Must Be Continued"]

[Text] Salt Lake City—A delegation of Soviet diplomats and experts on the problem of chemical disarmament have completed their visit to the U.S. Army base at Tooele (Utah).

The 2d day of the visit was devoted to inspecting the installation for destroying chemical munitions. The installation is a workshop away from the base's other buildings. Robot arms dismantle chemical shells in a hermetically sealed box. The contents are pumped out and then incinerated in a high-temperature furnace. The smoke is filtered.

True, all this was demonstrated by means of separate operations using a dummy. After a malfunction occurred at the beginning of this year in work with chemical shells—a leak of a toxin—practical use of the installation was suspended. Work is under way to improve the equipment.

We asked an authoritative specialist—Major General R.F. Razuvanov, member of the Soviet delegation and chief of the military facility at Shikany—to share his impressions of the Tooele visit.

"I think that the visit to the base is a positive step. We were shown the standard range of U.S. chemical munitions. Unfortunately, an incomplete range. Even nonspecialists know that the United States has developed other types of binary weapons apart from 155 mm chemical shells.

"The method of destroying chemical munitions that was demonstrated to us is of interest. Of course, work with real munitions rather than dummies would give a more complete picture. However, something else is essential: The technology for destroying chemical munitions exists."

At the news conference devoted to summing up the results of the visit, special interest was shown in the two sides' positions at the Geneva talks on banning chemical weapons and in the prospects for completing them.

"The first round of mutual visits to chemical weapons facilities has ended," Yu.K. Nazarkin, USSR representative at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, stated. "We are ready to continue similar exchanges and invite U.S. specialists to our country."

"Familiarization with the equipment and methods used in both countries' facilities is useful. But the political aspect is even more important. Mutual exchanges strengthen trust and improve the political atmosphere. This is especially important now that the talks in Geneva on completely banning chemical weapons have entered their final stage."

"In your opinion, when can a convention to ban chemical weapons be signed?"

"We cannot, of course, set a date for the completion of the talks. But we think that the convention to ban chemical weapons may be signed next year."

Some questions proved awkward for M. Friedersdorf, the head of the U.S. delegation at the Geneva talks.

"When could a convention to ban chemical weapons be signed?"

"We are not certain that this will take place next year. We are not yet satisfied with the exchange of data. All obstacles have not been removed in the work on verification methods which could be acceptable to the U.S. Congress. Moreover, 40 countries are taking part in the talks and it is difficult to unite all positions."

"Is this caution in assessing the prospects for completing the talks not linked with the program for modernizing the U.S. chemical arsenal and with the start of production of the latest binary weapons?"

"We need binary munitions," M. Friedersdorf replied, "to counterbalance other countries' armaments. We do not intend to discuss our binary program in Geneva."

The U.S. Administration's approach clearly reflects a desire to reconcile the irreconcilable—talks on banning chemical armaments and the intention to modernize the U.S. chemical arsenal. At the same time the U.S. officials who organized the visit to Tooele acknowledged that such exchanges are useful and must be continued.

China

Zhao's Request To Step Down Approved

LD241148 Moscow TASS in English 1111 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Beijing November 24 TASS—A regular session of the Standing Committee of the Sixth National People's Congress adopted a resolution today satisfying the request of Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, to relieve

him of the duties of premier of the State Council of China. The resolution is subject to approval of a regular session of the National People's Congress.

On the proposal of Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the standing committee of the National People's Congress appointed Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and deputy premier of the State Council of China, acting head of the Chinese Government.

In keeping with the Constitution of the country, the new premier of the State Council of the Peoples' Republic of China will be elected at the first session of the Seventh National People's Congress due to be held early next year.

PRAVDA Reports on PRC After CPC Congress

PM241125 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 87 First Edition p 4

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondents B. Barakhta and A. Krushinskiy and TASS special correspondent G. Arslanov: "Along the Path of Reforms; China After the 13th CPC Congress"]

[Text] Beijing, November—On returning to his native Tianjin City after the 13th CPC Congress, the first thing that Chang Wei, a delegate to the supreme party forum, did, was to meet with the Communists. There are over 100 of them in the collective of the Tianjin economic and technical development zone administrative committee, which he heads.

"The importance of the congress," he said, "is that it defined the course of socialist building for the next few years and the long term. All work will focus on the national economy, the intensification of economic reform, and the development of foreign ties." In his report, Chang Wei paid special attention to problems of the new style of work which graphically emerged during the party forum. On all points of the agenda, he said, discussion proceeded in a spirit of democracy and cohesion....

Party meetings are being held throughout China right now. Not only Communists but also the broad nonparty masses are displaying active interest in Comrade Zhao Ziyang's report and other congress documents recently published in the press. The course of renewal initiated 9 years ago by the decisions of the third plenum of the CPC Central Committee of the 11th convocation, confirmed and substantiated in these documents, enjoys the working people's support. We were frequently convinced of this during our talks in Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin. After all, this course has been checked by practice and has brought a number of obvious results.

Suffice it to say that the average annual tempo of economic growth in these 9 years has been 10%. The PRC has gone from fifth to fourth place in the world for steel smelting, from seventh to fifth place for electricity generation, from third to second for coal extraction, and from 28th to 15th for foreign trade turnover. Despite phenomena like inflation and the rise in prices, there are positive advances in the living standard. But it was by no means the thunder of victorious fanfares for successes but primarily the desire to reveal the socialist system's unused reserves and to eliminate existing shortcomings which characterized the delegates' speeches at the congress.

"For all the obvious headway," said Zhao Shulian, director of the PRC Academy of Social Sciences Industrial Economics Institute, in a talk with us, "there are still many complex unresolved economic and other problems in China. The production base remains backward as a whole and the living standard is low. We must perfect the mechanism for managing a mixed economy and regulating the contradictions between various forms of ownership. Overcoming the preferential rise (compared with labor productivity) in wages is a complex question. The dissipation of capital investments to be observed in the country also seriously worries economists. The party forum directed scientists, economic leaders, and labor collectives toward the solution of the complex problems of building socialism with specific Chinese features."

"As a result of the generalization of the 70 years' experience of world socialism and the 30 years' experience of building a new society in the PRC, we have come to the conclusion that our country is at the initial stage of the development of socialism characterized by the presence of a commodity economy," *Renmin Ribao*, organ of the CPC Central Committee, writes in an editorial devoted to the results of the congress. "Here it must be borne in mind that a socialist commodity economy is a higher degree than a capitalist commodity economy because it is a planned economy based on public ownership."

A number of Western mass media correspondents with whom we talked at the congress press center did not conceal their hopes that during the forum decisions "might be made" promoting China's slide onto a capitalist path. But the congress indicated unambiguously that socialism fully accords with the country's conditions and that it is only on a footing of socialism that China's real prosperity can be achieved.

"The aim of our reform is the consolidation and development of socialism," Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, stressed during a meeting with Ethiopian Foreign Minister Berhanu Bayeh soon after the end of the party congress. "We drew attention to the fact that all the other socialist countries are also

carrying out reforms. They are virtually all seeking the best path for their combination of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism with their own specific conditions."

The growing interest in the history, experience, and present-day life of the Soviet land attests to what serious importance China attaches to the ideological and world-outlook questions of creating a new society. The press, radio, and television have paid great attention to M.S. Gorbachev's book *Restructuring and the New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World* published in Moscow which, incidentally, is now being translated here for publication in Chinese. The newspapers published a resume of the report "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues" which the CPSU Central Committee general secretary delivered at the ceremonial session in the Kremlin's palace of congresses.

During a talk at the Shanghai institute for the study of the USSR and the East European countries, we were told of the great attention which is being displayed in the PRC toward the restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union and of Chinese specialists' desire to intensify the mutual exchange of experience with their Soviet colleagues.

We also sensed sincere sympathy for the first country of socialism at the numerous events marking the 70th anniversary of Great October and during impromptu talks on the streets. The attention, concern, and assistance displayed toward *Pravda* correspondents by staffers at the congress press center and by leaders of the all-China journalists' association were indicative.

During our talks our Chinese comrades frequently noted the importance of the aims, approved by the congress, of pursuing an "open policy" providing for the further development of foreign economic ties with the whole world in the interests of acquiring leading technology and equipment. The press here cites the following figures: From 1979 through to the present, Chinese departments have signed about 9,000 agreements relating to the enlistment of foreign capital and the total sum of funds thus attracted has already exceeded 30 billion U.S. dollars.

An important role in the development of this process is assigned in particular to the economic and technical development zones created in the country in 14 littoral cities including the Tianjin zone which, we were told, is has recently been the most dynamic in its development.

The *Pravda* and TASS correspondents were given the opportunity to view Xingang port in the vicinity of Tianjin now undergoing modernization and its new container terminals provided with modern equipment.

Nearby, on salty land unsuitable for pasture several new enterprises of the light, chemical, and electrical equipment industry have been constructed. They are all the joint property of China and various firms from Hong Kong, the United States, Japan, the FRG, France, Denmark, Switzerland, Australia, Thailand, the Philippines, and other capitalist countries.

Zhang Lianbi, secretary of the Tianjin association of journalists, who accompanied us during our trip, expressed this idea: The enlistment of foreign capital is promoted not only by the preferential conditions provided here (cheap manpower, low taxes, and so forth) but also by the stability of the economic and political stability of the situation in China. In turn, the conscientiousness of Chinese personnel at joint enterprises is the result both of the relatively high wages and of the Chinese side's attention to the selection of workers and the party organizations' active educational work. Incidentally, CPC members now make up nearly one-third of all workers and employees. The party stratum consequently is markedly higher than the country's average indicators.

The further consolidation of the party's leading role, as is clear from the congress materials, is inextricably linked with the development of democracy which, as *Renmin Ribao stresses, has nothing in common with bourgeois democracy, because it is designed to ensure each person's right to manage his own state. Chinese Communists are convinced that the development of socialist democracy will make it possible to reveal better the people's creative potential. Democracy and restructuring are inseparable, our interlocutors noted. The results of economic reform largely depend on the success of the restructuring of the political structure elaborated by the congress.*

One specific manifestation of this restructuring demonstrated directly during the party forum was the election of the party's leading organs held in accordance with the multimandate system. For the first time in the CPC's history the number of nominations on the secret ballot list was five% more than the number of members to be elected to the Central Committee and Central Discipline Inspection Commission. No less than 12% more candidates were nominated at the election of CPC Central Committee candidate members.

The reports and speeches delivered at the congress denounced bureaucracy and the related excessive centralization of power and the system of "life tenure" of responsible posts. Many delegates pointed to the need to resolutely purge the party of corrupt elements—of those who have not withstood the "examination" of the economic reform and who have allowed corruption, nepotism, and the suppression of criticism.

...The study of the materials of the CPC congress is now spreading throughout the country—among Communists and nonparty people. In the frank and businesslike spirit displayed at the forum, the Communists are not closing

their eyes to the unresolved problems and difficulties. The Chinese people are prepared through persistent labor to implement the decisions of the CPC's supreme forum.

Economic Cooperation Projects Implemented

LD231402 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] The USSR has begun implementing two new cooperation projects with China. They are aimed at helping China's economic advancement. Contracts have been signed on Soviet technical assistance in modernizing an aluminium and a gas factory in China where new production lines and equipment will be installed.

The large-scale program of economic cooperation between the two countries covering the next few years provides for the participation of the Soviet Union in building and reconstructing 24 big industrial enterprises.

Northeast Asia

Delegation Departs for Tokyo CP Congress

LD232232 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—A CPSU delegation consisting of Petr Fedoseyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Ivan Kovalenko, deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, left for Tokyo by air today to attend the 18th Congress of the Japan Communist Party (JCP).

Delegation Arrives

LD241208 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Tokyo November 24 TASS—A CPSU delegation comprising P.N. Fedoseyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and I.I. Kovalenko, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee's International Department, arrived here today to attend the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Japan.

Asia-Pacific Problems Discussed With Japan

LD250932 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Tokyo November 25 TASS—Pressing problems of the present-day international situation, questions of improving the climate in the Asian and Pacific region and ways of developing relations between the USSR and Japan in various spheres are under discussion at the first Soviet-Japanese consultative meeting which opened here today.

This forum sponsored by the leading Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri* with assistance of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Japanese Association of Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, is attended by politicians, parliamentarians and representatives of the economic and scientific communities of the two countries.

Fisheries Talks Open With Japan in Moscow

LD241317 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—The fourth session of the Soviet-Japanese Commission on Fisheries opened here today to discuss terms for fishing operations in the 200-mile economic zones of the U.S.S.R. and Japan.

The parties to the talks will determine which species are to be caught and in what quantities, the time schedule and areas for Soviet fishing operations in the economic zone of Japan and vice versa. Matters related to the use of various fishing gear and measures to monitor the observance of regulations will also be examined.

The heads of both delegations who spoke at the opening session noted that the Soviet Union and Japan were cooperating in fisheries for many years.

Three decades have passed since conclusion of the first postwar Soviet-Japanese convention on fishing. Over the years, ties in the fisheries industry have been growing in scope and diversity. A valuable experience of negotiating differences on various matters has been accumulated.

The heads of the delegations expressed the hope that during the current session the parties would be able to find mutually acceptable solutions soon in line with the interests of Soviet and Japanese fishermen.

In the current year mutual catch quotas stood at 200,000 tons of fish. In addition to this, an additional quota of 100,000 tons was made available to Japanese fishermen on a compensation basis.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Thai Army Chief Official Visit to Moscow

Arrival Reported

PM231527 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Nov 87 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] General Chawalit Yongchaiyut, acting commander in chief of the Thai Armed Forces and commander of the Ground Forces, arrived in Moscow 19 November on an official visit at the invitation of Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, commander in chief of the Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister.

The foreign visitor was met at the airport by Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, other generals, and officers. Prachit Rotchanaphruk, Thai ambassador in the USSR, was among the welcome party.

Urges Action on Cambodia

BK210107 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 21 Nov 87 pp 1, 3

[By Yuwadi Tanyasiri in Moscow]

[Text] Army Commander-in-Chief Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut yesterday urged top Soviet military leaders to cooperate to find a solution to the Kampuchean problem.

Gen Chawalit made his call during a meeting yesterday with Soviet Deputy Defence Minister and Ground Force Commander Y.F. Ivanovskiy who will visit Thailand from December 1-6.

The Thai Army chief informed the Soviet military leader that Thailand was concerned at Moscow's support for the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and as a peace-loving nation "the Soviet Union should show its responsibility by helping find an end to the problem."

A similar role by the Soviet Union could also be played to solve problems between Thailand and Laos.

Thailand wanted to be friendly with Vietnam and Laos and hoped to get this message across to these two countries through every possible channel, Gen Chawalit told Gen Ivanovskiy.

Gen Chawalit said he informed the Soviet military leader that Thailand had been adversely affected by the probelm in Kampuchea which the Kingdom viewed as a domestic affair of the Khmer people.

However, both Thailand and Vietnam have lost a large number of troops in border clashes because of the Kampuchean problem.

Talking to the *Bangkok Post*, Gen Chawalit said he was informed by Gen Ivanovskiy that Moscow also wanted to see peace in Kampuchea and the Asia-Pacific region and believed that the Kampuchean issue could only be resolved through political means.

Gen Chawalit said he hoped to discuss the Kampuchean issue further with the Soviet Defence Minister when he calls on him today.

The Thai Army chief denied a report in Bangkok that he planned to discuss an arms deal between Thailand and the Soviet Union.

"I have no intention of visiting Moscow to talk about arms and we haven't touched on the topic during my discussion with the Soviet military leaders here," Gen Chawalit said.

He said the aim of his visit to Moscow was to promote military relations. "We are here to look for peace. We (Thailand and Moscow) have been good friends and we come here to strengthen the friendship because I believe that obstacles can be overcome through meetings and talks to create an atmosphere of understanding."

Gen Chawalit, who is here on the second day of his three-day official visit, said he has met with several senior Soviet military leaders and his discussion with Gen Ivanovskiy yesterday touched on a wide range of topics.

He said the Soviet Union viewed his visit to Moscow as a very important one because it was the first to be made by a top Thai military leader.

The meeting was a major step that would lead to an improvement in the Thai-Soviet relations, he quoted Gen Ivanovskiy as saying.

Gen Chawalit said he was briefed by Gen Ivanovskiy about the global situation and was informed about the upcoming meeting in December between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and United States President Ronald Reagan for disarmament talks.

The Soviet Union had no desire to interfere with other nations' internal affairs and did not want to set up military bases in any country.

However, it had to have a strong military power to protect its own interest, Gen Chawalit quoted Gen Ivanovskiy as saying.

On Afghanistan, Gen Chawalit said the Soviet Union also wanted to withdraw its forces from that country but "certain obstacles" have prevented Moscow from being able to do so.

Gen Chawalit said that he had extended an invitation for Gen Ivanovskiy to visit Thailand and the Soviet military leader has agreed to visit the Kingdom from December 1-6 to take part in the celebrations to commemorate His Majesty the King's 60th birthday anniversary.

Received by Yazov

PM231151 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Nov 87 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Reception in the USSR Ministry of Defense"]

[Text] Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, received on 20 November General

Chawalit Yongchaiyut, acting commander in chief of the Kingdom of Thailand Armed Forces and commander of the Ground Forces, who is on an official visit to the Soviet Union. Questions of mutual interest were discussed during the conversation.

Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, USSR deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Ground Forces, took part in the conversation.

Prachit Rotchanaphruk, ambassador of the Kingdom of Thailand to the USSR, attended the meeting.

Calls Trip 'Major Success'

BK220216 Bangkok THE NATION in English 22 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] Army Chief Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut yesterday called his three-day trip to Moscow a 'major success' in strengthening Thai-Soviet relations.

Chawalit, who concluded his visit to the Soviet Union yesterday with an unscheduled meeting with Defence Minister Gen Dimitriy Yazov, said the success will be a stepping stone toward closer cooperation between Thailand and the Soviet Union in other areas.

The army commander-in-chief also said the Thai-U.S. joint war reserve stockpile to be set up soon in Thailand is aimed to enhance the defensive capability of the Thai Armed Forces.

He said the stockpile will neither be used for offensive purposes nor affect the military and political balance in Southeast Asia.

The Soviet defence minister, meanwhile, denied Western reports that his country has turned the U.S.-built airfield and naval facilities at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam into its front base.

Chawalit left Moscow yesterday evening and is due to arrive in Bangkok this morning.

Activities, Departure Noted

PM241209 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Nov 87 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Departure From Moscow"]

[Text] General Chawalit Yongchaiyut, acting commander of the Armed Forces of the Kingdom of Thailand, left Moscow 21 November.

At the airport, General Chawalit Yongchaiyut was seen off by Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, commander in chief of the Ground Forces and deputy defense minister of the USSR, and other generals and officers.

During his visit to the Soviet Union, General Chawalit Yongchaiyut met and had a talk with Army Gen Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, commander in chief of the Armed Forces and deputy defense minister of the USSR, visited the M.I. Kalinin Taman Guards Motorized Rifle Division and the Marshal of the Soviet Union R.Ya. Malinovskiy Armored Troops Military Academy, and laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev Awarded Indira Gandhi Peace Prize

LD250946 Moscow TASS in English 0935 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] New Delhi November 25 TASS—Mikhail Gorabchev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has been awarded the Indira Gandhi peace prize for 1987.

The Indian news agencies UNI and PTI said ti had been conferred on him "in recognition of his bold nad imaginative proposals to initiate a positive process of nuclear disarmament and his vision of a non-violent world free of nuclear weapons".

Gorbachev Report Published in Sri Lanka

LD240139 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Colombo November 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Spitsyn:

The Sri Lankan Pragathi Printers publishing house has issued in a large print in the Sinhalese and Tamil languages the report delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the celebration meeting in the Kremlin devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The report has been prepared for publication by the magazine *Land of the Soviets* which is issued here in the national languages of Sri Lanka.

The publication has aroused a lively interest among Sri Lankan public, which has now an opportunity to familiarise itself in the national language with the text of the speech by the Soviet leader containing a profound and objective analysis of the main stages in the history of the world's first state of the workers and peasants, the TASS correspondent was told by Kattorge Silva, general secretary of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka Central Committee. "I was lucky to participate in the celebrations in Moscow on the occasion of the jubilee," he said. "The report delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on November 2 was enthusiastically welcomed by all the participants in the meeting. It is of tremendous significance."

Further On Ryzhkov, Delegation Visit to India

Addresses Friendship Societies

LD241635 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] New Delhi November 24 TASS—"Soviet-Indian friendship is already a tradition in the strengthening and development of which Indian public organisations and intellectuals played and continue to play a very important role", stressed Nikolay Ryzhkov. "They keep in a careful manner and develop all that Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi did for bringing the Soviet and Indian peoples closer together".

The chairman of the council of ministers of the USSR today addressed a meeting with activists of the Indian-Soviet Cultural Society and the Society of the Friends of the Soviet Union held in the House of Soviet Science, Culture and Art in New Delhi.

Ryzhkov noted that the activity of all public organisations working to consolidate ties between the two countries gets, as it were, a second wind thanks to the historic Delhi declaration on the principles of a nuclear weapons-free and non-violent world, signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Indira Gandhi last year. This document laid down the groundwork for bringing together broad public public movements in the work for peace and friendly communication of peoples.

The national festivals of the Soviet Union and India serve the same purpose. As the holidays of friendship, they became an illustrious example of the cultural communication of the two great peoples and reflect the tendency towards the democratization of international affairs in general. The peoples act as direct participants in building new international relations based on equality, mutual respect and renunciation of the power politics. This activity by the public returns to the world 'international' its former meaning. These should be the relations among nations that epitomize their peace aspirations.

The Soviet Leader emphasized that extension of cultural contacts helped assert new thinking in international politics.

Vorontsov Confers With Menon

PM241643 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general rubric "Official Reports"]

[Text] A meeting between Yu. M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and E. Faleiro, Indian minister of state for external affairs, and K. P.SH. Menon, secretary for external affairs at the Indian Ministry of External Affairs has been held at the Indian Ministry of External Affairs. A wide range of international problems was discussed in whose speedy positive solution the USSR and India are interested. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1025 GMT on 24 November adds that Vorontsov also "met with Natwar Singh, Indian minister of state for external affairs," and that "there was detailed discussion of questions concerning a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, stopping the Iran-Iraq war, and normalizing the situation in South-East Asia."]

Cooperation Agreements Signed

LD242131 Moscow TASS in English 2045 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] New Delhi November 24 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, had his concluding meeting with the prime minister of India Rajiv Gandhi here today.

They continued their detailed exchange of views on pressing problems of the international situation and a wide range of questions of Soviet-Indian relations. They confirmed that the Soviet Union and India attach special importance to questions of removing the nuclear threats, curbing the arms race, disarmament and the attainment of the tasks set by the Delhi Declaration.

The exchange of views revealed the high extent of accord also on questions of Soviet-Indian bilateral cooperation, the interest of both countries in consistently working for further expanding it and raising its quality. In this context they stressed again the fundamental importance of the accords reached in 1985-1987 during the Soviet-Indian summit meetings.

The heads of Government of the two countries noted the successful beginning of the Festival of the USSR in India devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Like the Festival of India in the Soviet Union, it is called upon to play an important role in bringing the Soviet and Indian peoples spiritually closer.

Nikolay Ryzhkov and Rajiv Gandhi expressed confidence that the successful development of the friendly Soviet-Indian relations in all fields will further fruitfully serve the cardinal interests of the peoples of both countries, the cause of strengthening peace and universal security.

Nikolay Ryzhkov expressed sincere gratitude to the Government and people of India for the warm and heartfelt reception accorded the Soviet delegation in India.

The conversation passed in a warm atmosphere of mutual understanding.

Then a number of Soviet-Indian documents were signed.

Nikolay Ryzhkov and Rajiv Gandhi signed an agreement on economic and technical cooperation.

An agreement on new forms of economic cooperation between the USSR and India was signed by Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Vladimir Kamentsev and India's Minister of Finance and Trade Narayan Dutt Tiwari.

An agreement on cooperation in the filed of higher education and the training of highly qualified specialists was signed by the USSR minister of higher and secondary specialised education Gennadiy Yagodin and the Indian minister of human resources development and health and family welfare P.V. Narasimha Rao.

An agreement on cooperation in the field of tourism was signed by First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Yuliy Vorontsov and India's Minister of State for Civil Aviation and Tourism Jagdish Tytler.

Also signed were a protocol on trade turnover between the USSR and India in 1988 and a protocol on the equivalence of higher education diplomas.

On the same day, Nikolay Ryzhkov met Narayan Dutt Tiwari, P.V. Narasimha Rao and also Indian Defence Minister Krishna Chandra Pant and Energy Minister Vasant P. Sathe. The talks passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

There was a meeting between Nikolay Ruzhkov and representatives of the Indian business community. More than 200 businessmen represented large as well as medium and small companies virtually from all states of India. This is evidence of serious interest shown by the Indian business community in the processes to overhaul the economy of the USSR, in further boosting trade and economic ties with the Soviet Union. Nikolay Ryzhkov answered numerous questions put by participants in the meeting.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR visited the National Immunology Institute, one of the new scientific centres of the country, and saw its laboratories. Dr. T. Prasad, director of the institute, acquainted the high Soviet guest with the main trends in the research in the field of theoretical and applied immunology conducted at the institute. The head of the Soviet Government wished the staffers of the institute success in their humane work.

In the House of Soviet Science, Culture and Art in New Delhi Nikolay Ryzhkov met activists of th Indian-Soviet Cultural Society and the Society of the Friends of the Soviet Union. The Soviet leader was welcomed by Aruna Asaf Ali, an Indian public figure of prominence, winner of the international Lenin Peace Prize, Bali Ram Bhagat, chairman of the Society of the Friends of the Soviet Union, and V.R. Krishna Ayer, chairman of the Indian-Soviet Cultural Society National Council.

Then Nikolay Ryzhkov addressed those present.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR expressed profound gratitude to all those who take part in the activity aimed at strengthening Soviet-Indian friendship and wished the activists of both societies new great successes in their work.

Ryzhkov Sums Up Visit

LD250852 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] A press conference by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov has just ended in Delhi. Speaking to Indian and foreign journalists he said, inter alia:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] Ladies and gentlemen, dear Indian friends, comrades. Our visit to friendly India is coming to an end. I will say without hesitation that we are satisfied with its results, our talks with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, our meetings with President Venkataraman and Vice President Sharma. The opening of the festival of the Soviet Union in India was felt as a true festival of friendship between our peoples. Like the festival of India in the Soviet Union, it will certainly be yet another shining, memorable page in the history of Soviet-Indian relations and will play an inestimable role in the spiritual rapprochement of the Soviet and Indian peoples.

Our delegation had the chance to visit the flagship of Soviet-Indian cooperation, the Bhilai metallurgical works, and to see firsthand how Soviet and Indian specialists are working shoulder-to-shoulder. We also had many other interesting meetings and contacts during our visit. We managed to see, though briefly, some of the historical monuments of Delhi and Agra. I must say that what we saw in India, a country of the most ancient civilization and dynamic development will remain in our memory forever, as will the warmth and cordiality that we felt everywhere, which reflects the mutual feelings of friendship and respect of two great peoples.

We want such relations to be established between all countries and peoples of our planet. We want the enmity and suspicion that still exist between some states or others to give place, finally and irrevocably, to mutual understanding and respect for the right of each people to go along their own path of development and to determine their fate independently. This is what we have in mind when we speak of the need for new political ways of thinking in the nuclear and space age.

Evidently, those who have gathered here today are interested most of all in the political results of our visit to India. First and foremost it must be said that during our visit, there were detailed conversations with Rajiv Gandhi, the prime minister of India. We talked with him tete-a-tete for several hours. There was a frank [otkrovennyy] and constructive talk about the ways of further improving the cooperation of our countries in both

bilateral and international affairs. As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorabchev has noted more than once, India has a special priroity place in Soviet foreign policy. This is natural. India is a large world power, our close neighbor and longstanding friend in Asia. Taking into account the local role of the Soviet Union and India in the modern world, their friendship and cooperation is a factor of global importance.

It is natural that international problems took up a large part of our talks. We noted yet again with satisfaction that the positions of our countries on all the main problems of the current time are close or identical. This allows us to consistently work together in the international arena with the aim of solving such tasks as guaranteeing general peace, disarmament — first and foremost nuclear disarmament — the political settlement of regional conflicts, and the construction of equal and just international economic relations. Our discussion of international problems showed that the Delhi Declaration on the principles of a nuclear arms- and violence-free world, the anniversary of whose signing we are shortly to mark, has received broad international recognition as an original codex for peaceful coexistence applicable to the conditions of today's nuclear and space age. [end recording]

Indian Media Coverage of Visit

For Delhi reportage on the visit to India by Nicolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, see the India section of the 20 November Near East & South Asia *Daily Report* and subsequent issues.

Latest Developments in Gulf, Iran-Iraq War

PM241505 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 1

["IZVESTIYA press service" report: "Persian Gulf: Like a Coiled Spring"]

[Text] U.S. and Iranian naval forces again came close to a direct armed clash in the Persian Gulf.

An Iranian military spokesman has claimed that on Saturday Iranian naval forces opened fire on U.S. military helicopters which tried to hamper their inspection of a Greek cargo vessel. On the same day, according to foreign news agency reports, a U.S. helicopter drove away Iranian naval vessels which were threatening a U.S.-flagged ship.

A Pentagon spokesman has said that in the last 3 days alone seven mines were defused in the vicinity of Farsi Island.

On the subject of military actions between Iran and Iraq, IRNA reports that Iranian troops have captured more than 30 square km of territory as a result of offensives in the northern sector of the front. In the course of this fighting some 2,800 Iraqi servicemen are said to have been killed or wounded. Iraq, on the other hand, has reported no combat operations of any significance at the front.

Foreign news agencies report continuing Iranian preparations for a major offensive in the south for which, it is claimed, 250,000 servicemen have been massed in the area. According to Tehran radio, demonstrations in support of the continuation of the war with Iraq "to victory" were held in the country's major cities with hundreds of thousands of people participating.

M. Ha'eri, Iranian ambassador to the United Arab Emirates, said in an interview with *Reuter* that Iran has so many Stinger antiaircraft missiles that it could "cause a scandal much bigger than 'Irangate'" in the United States. In connection with reports that Iran managed to get hold of 25 such missiles which had been supplied to the Afghan dushmans by the United States, he said: "If those accusations caused such a furor, the world would be very shocked to learn how many such missiles we really have."

RPP Warns Against U.S. Presence

NC201155 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1630 GMT 19 Nov 87

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The U.S. Administration has deployed its helicopters, defense missiles and special military units to the territories of Persian Gulf Arab states. This was reported by UPI citing U.S. intelligence sources. This report may indicate the establishment of a complete network of U.S. bases in Southwest Asia. [passage omitted]

U.S. pressures on the Arabs during recent months, with the skillful exploitation of the scarecrow of an Iranian threat, have been extremely obstinate and [word indistinct]. It should be noted that this time, also, some Pentagon officials have stated that the stockpiling of U.S. arms in some Arab countries is a precautionary measure in case of extensive attacks by Iranians, which are expected to take place in early January. Apparently, U.S. (?insistence) on continuing ugly blackmail has no end. They have (?started) to take the first concrete step toward the consolidation of their direct military presence in the Persian Gulf's Arab countries. Since the fall of the monarchy of Iran, which had been the basic U.S. ally in the Middle East as well as the regional gendarme up to 10 years ago, the United States has been doing everything in its power in order to attain its objectives; and it was at that time — 10 years ago — that red arrows pointing to the Persian Gulf appeared on the Pentagon's maps, and the U.S. Fleet was dispatched to that region. [passage omitted]

However, early this year an immense U.S. Naval Force was sent directly to the Persian Gulf. Under the pretext of defending the freedom of navigation, more than 50 U.S. warships, and hundreds of planes and helicopters were deployed to the region. A special military operations command for the Persian Gulf was formed to administer this military force. However, this too, failed to satisfy the engineers of Pentagon's strategy, so now they are [words indistinct] setting up U.S. bases on the coast of Arab countries situated in this strategically important area. Meanwhile, it is not a secret that they see (?Iran as returning) to the sphere of U.S. influence [sentence as heard]. It is because of all these that Washington has started an extremely dangerous adventure in the Persian Gulf. By resorting to various types of confrontation, Washington is pouring oil on the Iran-Iraq war. U.S. Armed Forces in the region have, on several occasions, resorted to arms; they have thus moved into a precarious situation in which the smallest accident can turn them into the third party involved in the war. The U.S. Administration is knowingly fanning the flames of tension in the region in a bid to be able to fish more easily for its political and military interests in the murky waters of hostilities, fears and mistrusts.

Thus, we see the formation of a U.S. Middle East strategy on the establishment of bases, as well as the extension of its ambitious hegemonism. In our opinion, this is exactly the very point which should be taken into consideration by those Arab circles that are opening the doors of their countries to U.S. military presence, as well as by those Iranian dignitaries who continue to maintain their stand of "war, war until victory" and who are — irrespective of their inclinations — working against the interests of their peoples and those of regional and international security.

The history of the Near and Middle East has repeatedly proven an extreme but basic fact: The military presence in this region increases simultaneously with the increasing threat against the people.

U.S. 'Pressuring' Pakistan

NC241218 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1630 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] The concentration of the U.S. Navy strike force continues in the Persian Gulf. The U.S. Forces have, at their disposal, nuclear arms and facilities for the landing of troops and helicopters which may be used in land and sea offensives. All these have been allocated for extensive crushing operations in this region.

In its preparations for operations, Washington has placed Islamabad under strong pressure. The *Asian News Agency* notes that the Reagan administration has clearly implied to Pakistan that the complete resumption of U.S. assistance to Pakistan, which has been halted by Congress until January, will depend on the role Islamabad plays in inflicting pressure on Iran. This was especiaLly emphasized during the visit by Pakistani Foreign minister Mohammad Khan Junejo [title as heard] to Washington in October. He was told that Islamabad can no longer please the United States solely by helping the Afghan rebels.

Reports from Pakistan indicate that this country has placed a number of its bases at the disposal of the intervening U.S. Central Command. In Baluchistan province which borders Iran, 32 airports have been built or rennovated to accomodate U.S. planes. Moreover, General (George Crissy), commander of this command, has looked into the possibility of the use of bases in Baluchestan and Karachi by U.S. ships and airplanes.

Meanwhile, there are reports of the deployment of special U.S. military units and offensive weapons in a number of Persian Gulf States. Saudi Arabia has placed its bases at U.S. disposal, and Bahrain, Kuwait and Oman have accepted to extend services to U.S. military personnel and have also placed their tarmacs at the disposal of helicopters carrying U.S. paratroopers. Reports citing U.S. information and espionage sources speak of an unprecedented concentration of U.S. arms and a spectacular display of a U.S. military presence on bases in these countries. This concentration and presence is aimed at facing a possible major offensive by Iran, which is expected to take place sometime in or about January.

Reports that the U.S. command intends to resort to direct military acts against Iran have roused concern in this region. Three Iranian boats were attacked and sunk, and an Iranian oil platform was destroyed in a missile attack. Under such conditions, any incident can lead to extensive military operations. According to Britain's *The Sunday Times* which cites military observers, apparently the Reagan administration does not intend to only answer Iranian aggressions, but is actively seeking a pretext for a confrontation. The newspaper points to conclusions, drawn by military experts, which state that the United States intends to force Iran to react, and thus triggering an extensive retaliation by the United States.

Obviously the objective behind all these militaristic programs is to revive the U.S. interests that were lost because of blows inflicted on them by liberation movements of the peoples of Iran and of Arab countries in this region. The protracted Iran-Iraq war, in which both sides are further weakening each other, only helps U.S. militarism to achieve this objective. Moreover, the Iranian leadership's contradictory stand on the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598, which calls for an end to the war, paves the way for the U.S. objectives. It appears that the proponents of war in Iran want to use the talks with the UN secretary general as a cover-up for preparations for extensive military operations. Recently President Khamene'i stated that students will also participate in the military operations against Iraq. Also,

one-fifth of the total number of civil servants are to be sent to the fronts. Other steps are being taken for organizing the so-called destiny-making attack on the Iran-Iraq front.

Meanwhile, the fact that Iran's financial and military resources are being wasted, the exacerbation of the economic crisis in the country, and the growing anti-war sentiments there are all proofs that the policy of continuing war until the final victory has lost its lustre. The interests of the anti-imperialist forces dictate that the Iranian nation be saved from the heavy burden of war as soon as possible.

U.S. Carrier Departs Gulf

LD241226 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Cairo November 24 TASS—The U.S. helicopter carrier *Guadalcanal* sailed through the Suez canal Monday on its way from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean.

The *Guadalcanal* had spent several months in the Persian Gulf zone as one of the ships of the U.S. naval armada currently concentrated there. Helicopters stationed on its board had taken part in aggressive actions against Iranian ships and oil installations.

According to the *Al-Akhbar* newspaper, the ship is now heading for its base for repairs and the crew replacement. Its place in the Persian Gulf had been taken a similar attack helicopter carrier, the *Okinawa*, with U.S. marines aboard.

Israel's Shamir Hampering Peace Attempts

PM241628 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Ostalskiy "International Commentary": "In the Same Old Way"]

[Text] Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir, who was in the United States on an official visit, categorically rejected the idea of convening a Near East peace conference under UN auspices. It is well known that the majority of Arab countries, the Nonaligned Movement, the Islamic Conference Organization, and the Common Market see the holding of such a conference as the only realistic step toward unblocking the Near East conflict. Even the United States and the Likud bloc's partners in the Israeli Government, headed by Foreign Minister S. Peres, have come out in support of a conference, at least verbally.

So why does the idea of a conference not suit the Israeli prime minister? Speaking in New York on Monday, he stated that it "would be a step away from peace," and constitutes "a threat to Israeli security."

Thus Y. Shamir and the Likud bloc which he heads continue to pin their hopes on the totally discredited course of separate deals with individual Arab states, diktat, and the policy of annexation of the occupied Arab territories.

It must be observed that the prime minister is trying to exploit for propaganda purposes the recent decision by several Arab countries to restore diplomatic relations with Egypt.

"This step is the vindication of Camp David, the recognition that the Egyptian path is the only one that leads to peace," Y. Shamir said. However, if you study carefully the decisions of the recent Arab summit conference in Amman, you cannot fail to become convinced that the restoration of diplomatic ties with Cairo is not in any way an act of support for the Camp David agreements, and arises from entirely different considerations and from the consequences of the Iran-Iraq war.

The Israeli head of government is not only hampering attempts to unblock the Near East conflict, but also putting forward absurd "preliminary conditions" for participation by the USSR in efforts to find a settlement to the situation in the region. He demanded that the Soviet Union restore diplomatic relations with Tel Aviv and "acknowledge the right of Jews to emigrate."

You might think that it is not Israel, but only the USSR that has an interest in a lasting Near East settlement capable of ensuring the security of all the region's states, Israel included.

Y. Shamir cannot fail to understand the senselessness of putting forward conditions like these or to realize that attempts to dictate to a great power and interfere in its internal affairs can only obstruct the prospects for the normalization of bilateral relations. However, could that perhaps be precisely what the Israeli head of government wants?

One cannot help recalling the oriental proverb: "He who puts the cart before the horse does not intend to go anywhere."

Libyan Friendship Delegation Visits USSR

Demichev Receives Delegation

LD231341 Moscow TASS in English 1259 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received in the Kremlin today a delegation of the Arab Libyan-Soviet Friendship Society led by 'Abd al-Raziq al-Sawsa, assistant secretary general of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

Petr Demichev spoke about the processes of revolutionary transformations under way in the Soviet society, characterised the main trends in the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and work for the perfection of legislation. He attracted attention to the Soviet Union's peaceful initiatives which are designed to contribute towards fostering new political thinking, and stressed that the idea of a nuclear free world is consonant with the wishes of the developing countries which have a stake in the implementation of the slogan disarmament for development.

The Libyan side showed much interest in questions pertaining to restructuring (perestroyka) of various aspects of the Soviet society and spoke highly of the Soviet Union's efforts to ensure a radical turn for the better in international affairs, for the creation of a comprehensive international security system, providing for a political settlement of the conflict situations in various parts of the world. Sharing his impressions of the Soviet-Libyan days in the USSR, for which the delegation came, 'Abd al-Baziq al-Sawsa stressed that they are a great success. We could feel everywhere support for the just cause of our people, its revolutionary gains, the guest pointed out.

The meeting reaffirmed the mutual wish for a broadening of Soviet-Libyan cooperation along parliamentary and public lines.

Soviet Support Reiterated

LD242112 Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland in Arabic 1815 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] The brother assistant secretary general of the General People's Congress and chairman of the Libyan-Soviet Friendship Society, and the delegation accompanying him, yesterday had a meeting with the alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee [name not given].

They discussed the promotion of relations and cooperation between the Great Jamahiriyah and the Soviet Union, and exchanged views on issues of interest to the two countries, as well as some current issues. The alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee reiterated the support of the Soviet Union for the struggle of the Libyan Arab people to preserve its freedom and protect its gains and achievements.

The meeting was attended by the deputy premier of the RSFSR, the chairman of the Soviet Friendship Society [as heard]; and the first deputy chairman of the Society of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

The meeting comes on the sidelines of the Libyan Arab Friendship Week recently held in the Soviet Union and the Republic of Khazakastan.

Delegates Visit Kazakh University

LD232116 Tripoli JANA in English 1041 GMT 23 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, Al-Harth [November] 23, *Jamahiriyah News Agency*—The Libyan Arab Friendship Week organized in the Soviet Union continues [words indistinct] day running its activities in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Libyan Arab friendship delegation visited yesterday Kazakh University and met with its vice-president and the teaching staff.

A discussion was conducted between the two sides on the university regulations.

The delegation toured various departments of this university and conducted a dialogue with the students there.

East Europe

Ceausescu, Mengistu Remarks at Dinner Cited

LD241448 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Cairo November 24 TASS—President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and President Husni Mubarak of Egypt have supported international efforts to eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons, averting the threat of an all-out nuclear war, ending the arms race and using the means to be thus released in the interests of mankind's development, to combat poverty, hunger and diseases.

At a dinner in honour of the distinguished Romanian visitor who arrived in Cairo yesterday, the leaders of the two states expressed the hope that the forthcoming Soviet-American summit would be a success.

Ceausescu emphasized, in part, that the conclusion of a Soviet-American treaty to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles would give a fresh impetus to the struggle for all peace-loving forces on earth to attaining total elimination of nuclear weapons.

The leaders of Romania and Egypt stressed the need for effective measures to end immediately the Iran-Iraq war in keeping with Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council and to settle existing international conflicts by peaceful means.

They backed the proposal for convening an international peace conference on the Middle East.

RCP CC Approves GOSR Delegation Work

PM241250 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Approval Expressed"]

[Text] Bucharest, 21 Nov—At a session held here, the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee approved the work of the Romanian delegation headed by N. Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of Romania, which took part in the Moscow celebrations to mark the 70th anniversary of Great October and in the meeting of representatives of parties and movements.

As *Agerpres* reports, the Political Executive Committee stressed the particular significance of the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and N. Ceausescu. This meeting, the report says, reaffirmed the decisive role of Romanian-Soviet dialogue at summit level in developing multifaceted, fruitful cooperation between the two parties and countries and in strengthening friendship between the Romanian and Soviet peoples.

Orzechowski Stops in Moscow; Meets Loginov

LD242245 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski, after completing his visit to China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Mongolia, stopped over in Moscow for a short visit. There he met Loginov, the Soviet deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Polish Veterans Visit Katyn, Other Sites

LD242142 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] A delegation of the Council for Preservation of Monuments of Struggle and Martyrdom, headed by its chairman General Roman Paszkowski, stayed in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans. Talks were held at the Committee of War Veterans on the subject of cooperation between the two organizations and with Vladislav Kazenin, Soviet deputy minister of culture, on commemorating historical events connected with the founding of the first units of the Polish People's Army in the Soviet Union.

Apart from Moscow, the delegation visited Ryazan, Sielce, Volgograd, Smolensk and Minsk and stayed in places where Polish People's Army units were being created and fought their first battles with Hitler's invaders, as well as in Katyn.

CPSU's Kapitonov Receives SED Visitors

PM240949 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation of the SED Central Auditing Commission headed by commission chairman K. Seibt visited the Soviet Union 16-20 November.

The delegation was received by I.V. Kapitonov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission. There was an exchange of experience of auditing work within the CPSU and SED. G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation, which was held in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

The German comrades traveled to Chelyabinsk Oblast, where they acquainted themselves with the practical work of the auditing commissions of the oblast party organization as well as city and rayon party organizations, met with the party aktiv, and visited industrial and agricultural enterprises.

SED's Wildenhain Visits Moscow 16-21 Nov

PM241252 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation of SED party workers headed by H. Wildenhain, chief of the SED Central Committee Financial Administration and Party Enterprises Department, was in Moscow 16 through 21 November to study the CPSU's experience of work in the financial, budget, and publishing spheres.

The German comrades had a meeting with N.Ye. Kruchina, CPSU Central Committee administrator of affairs, and visited Moscow City's Dzerzhinskiy CPSU Raykom, the *Pravda* publishing house, and the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade.

SED Construction Delegation Ends Visit

PM240929 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for interparty ties, a delegation of SED officials headed by G. Troelitzsch, member of the SED Central Committee and head of the SED Central Committee Construction Department, visited the Soviet Union 17-20 November.

The German comrades studied CPSU experience in the leadership of capital construction. They had talks at the CPSU Central Committee Construction Department, Kalinin Party Obkom, the USSR State Committee for

Construction Affairs, and a number of ministries and departments and visited construction industry enterprises and industrial and civic construction sites.

The delegation was received by V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The conversation, which passed in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality, was attended by A.G. Melnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the CPSU Central Committee Construction Department, and G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR.

M. Pavic Interviewed on Trade With SFRY

PM241143 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Milan Pavic, president of the SFRY Economic Chamber, conducted by PRAVDA own correspondent in the SFRY, V.Sharov: "Joint Guidelines"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] A Soviet economic delegation was recently in Yugoslavia. In the course of the meetings and talks which took place, questions of improving trade and economic relations between the two countries were discussed. Both sides put forward many interesting proposals. V. Sharov, *Pravda* own correspondent in the SFRY, asked Milan Pavic, head of the Yugoslav delegation and president of the SFRY Economic Chamber, to answer a number of questions.

[Sharov] At one of the meetings with the Soviet delegation, the leaders of the leading Yugoslav industrial collectives applauded a speech given by the representative of the "Uralmash" Production Association. This does not often happen in business circles. By and large, how do you assess the results of the talks between the two delegations? What tasks have been resolved by joint efforts?

[Pavic] You correctly noted that applause is quite rare in dealings with representatives of business circles. What was particularly appealing about this speech? It did not merely say what output the association manufactures and what it uses. The assemblies, which Yugoslav plants could manufacture through cooperation, were objectively described and named. Our general directors assessed their partner's concrete approach to cooperation questions on its merits.

This atmosphere of a joint businesslike search for solutions to tasks which have arisen was typical of the Soviet visitors' stay in Yugoslavia. I think that this was predetermined by the very composition of the delegation. From leading workers from a number of your ministries and departments which deal with economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, we received confirmation and explanations of your leadership's principled stance on questions of the further development and improvement of economic relations between the USSR and the SFRY. Our colleagues provided us with detailed information about the restructuring under way in the Soviet Union, which also affects the sphere of foreign economic ties. What we heard cannot fail to evoke optimism and satisfaction. We wish the Soviet people success on this path.

In addition, the delegation contained representatives from industry and science—the representatives of such well-known production associations as "Uralmash," the "Bryansk Machine Building Plant," the Odessa Heavy Crane Construction Production Association named for the January Uprising, "Konveyer" in Lvov, and the "Novokramatorskiy Machine Building Plant." The inclusion in the delegation of a representative from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences' Problems of Material Science Institute was also useful. Soviet comrades were given the opportunity to visit a number of allied enterprises and hold talks on organizing direct cooperation.

The meetings and talks took place at a crucial moment. In past decades, the LCY and the CPSU and the two countries' governments have done a great deal to raise Yugoslav-Soviet relations to a high level. As a result, the USSR has become Yugoslavia's biggest trading partner and the LCY has become one of the USSR's top ten trading partners.

However, recently a certain decline in commodity turnover in value terms has occurred for various reasons. Balance in trade has been disrupted—Yugoslavia has a considerable positive balance which is burdensome for our relations.

[Sharov] As is well-known, commodity turnover between the USSR and the SFRY has not decreased in physical terms. The imbalance in reciprocal transactions is mainly the result of a fall in world market prices for raw materials and energy sources, which are the largest share of Soviet exports to Yugoslavia. In your opinion, what are the prospects for Soviet-Yugoslav trade and economic links? How can they develop and improve?

[Pavic] The imbalance in transactions appeared in the course of implementing the agreement on commodity exchange for 1986-1990. This seems particularly evident in the framework of the commodity structure determined by this document, and the problem which has cropped up must be resolved. Of course, we are expecting some increase in oil deliveries to Yugoslavia. However, many rational proposals were put forward in the course of the talks. I would like to single out the possibility of USSR organizations' laying a gas pipeline to the SFRY from the main pipelines that run to Hungary and Bulgaria, and also the purchase of modern Soviet equipment and machines, chemical products, and other goods which Yugoslavia needs (a supplement to the commodity lists has been sent to our Soviet partners). The proposals for part of our positive balance to be

converted into credit and used to procure goods for Yugoslavia from the countries with which the USSR has a positive balance, and other proposals are interesting.

However, the main strategic avenue for our joint work through the year 2000 must be the expansion of the forms of cooperation noted in the joint communique on the LCY delegation's visit to the USSR in December 1986. This document indicates that, while assessing positively the level of mutually beneficial cooperation that has been reached in the trade and economic and scientific and technical spheres, Soviet and Yugoslav leaders stressed their mutual interest in further developing Soviet-Yugoslav economic ties and seeking new opportunities for solving the emergent problems of balancing commodity exchange by common efforts. It is being proposed that joint work be launched to use such modern forms as long-term production sharing and specialization, business contacts between economic organizations, joint capital investments, direct ties between enterprises, and cooperation in the key spheres of science and technology.

Both our delegations were guided by these proposals when they jointly resolved specific questions of improving trade and economic relations between the SFRY and the USSR.

[Sharov] How are modern forms of cooperation entering into our common practical work?

[Pavic] In the opinion of both delegations, we have only just begun. Let us take production sharing and specialization on a long-term basis. We have accumulated definite experience. "Crvena Zastava" supplies subassemblies to the Volga Automotive Plant, receiving "Lada" automobiles in exchange. Our enterprises participate in the production of "Kamaz" trucks, self-propelled excavators, and equipment for AES's. However, most sectors and enterprises are still not involved in this promising work.

I would also like to mention the following. The Yugoslav delegation pointed out that the existing practice of supplying assemblies and parts in exchange for finished goods produced in the USSR restricts the development of cooperation between our countries. The point is that the Yugoslav market's capabilities are not comparable to those of the huge Soviet market. Therefore, we reached an agreement with our partners from the USSR to work together to put products manufactured on the basis of production sharing onto a third market.

As for direct ties between enterprises: Hitherto, 12 contracts have been signed between our countries' labor collectives. There is great interest in this form of cooperation. We are confident that the work will make substantial progress in future. The conditions have been created for this.

Both sides advocate expanding joint enterprise: creating joint enterprises in the USSR and joint capital investments in the Yugoslav economy. These questions will be resolved in accordance with the two countries' existing legislation.

[Sharov] The documents signed as a result of the Soviet delegation's stay mention several times proposals submitted by the sides designed to raise Soviet-Yugoslav trade and economic cooperation and scientific and technical cooperation to a new level. Could you not talk about this in more detail?

[Pavic] Many proposals have indeed been put forward. The Yugoslav side alone has proposed discussing more than 100 joint projects. More than 50 of these relate to the sphere of industrial production sharing and specialization. They emcompass various sectors: machine building, metal working, chemicals, the timber and wood processing industry, the pharmaceutical industry, and agriculture. If we are talking about output the list is long—from rail cars and electric locomotives to medicines, from power units with a capacity of 300-800 megawatts to furniture, from paints and varnishes to tires and mineral fertilizers.

Ten projects are to do with creating joint enterprises and joint capital investments. We have also included 13 problems and topics in our "package" of proposals in the sphere of scientific and technical cooperation.

In October at the latest session of Intergovernmental Yugoslav-Soviet Committee on Economic, Scentific, and Technical Cooperation the two countries' delegations confirmed their mutual dependence in the matter of improving comprehensive economic ties by developing more effective forms of cooperation including production cooperation and creating joint enterprises. This opens up the possibility of implementing mutually beneficial proposals and projects.

The proposals put forward by Soviet partners are interesting and promising. This is a good basis for further joint work.

As we can see, there is a desire on both sides to cooperate on a qualitatively new basis. I think that we will find the will and persistence to implement our joint plans.

CSSR's Gerle Meets With Maslyukov

LD242114 Prague CTK in English 1832 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow Nov 24 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Ladislav Gerle, who is on a working visit to the Soviet Union, met here today with Soviet Deputy Premier Yuriy Maslyukov.

The two representatives paid main attention to further development of cooperation in engineering and electrical engineering. They worked out some concrete topics from

the recent meeting of Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal and his Soviet counterpart Nikolay Ryzhkov, putting emphasis on coordination of the two countries' national economic plans and cooperation after the year 2000.

BCP Control, Auditing Officials Visit

PM240933 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A working group of the BCP's Central Control-auditing Commission headed by deputy chairman V. Sandev visited the Soviet Union 16-20 November in connection with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the BCP.

The Bulgarian comrades familiarized themselves with the work experience of the CPSU's control and auditing organs under conditions of restructuring. Conversations took place at the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and the Ulyanovsk Oblast party organization.

The delegation was received by I.V. Kapitonov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, and had a warm, friendly conversation with him.

BCP Group Studies CPSU Educational Work

PM241254 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] Under the plan for CPSU-BCP ties, a group of BCP party workers headed by M. Delin, deputy chief of the BCP Central Committee Cadre Policy Department, was in the Soviet Union 16 through 21 November to study the CPSU's experience in leadership of the restructuring of secondary and vocational and technical education. The Bulgarian comrades had talks at the CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department and at a number of USSR central departments and Moscow science and education institutions.

Trade, Collaboration Protocol With Hungary

PM241727 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general rubric "Official Reports"]

[Text] A protocol on the expansion of the range of internal trade and the development of scientific and technical collaboration between the USSR and Hungary for 1988 has been signed in Budapest. K.Z. Terekh, USSR minister of trade, and Z. Juhar, Hungarian minister of internal trade signed the document.

Albanian-Greek Talks, Agreement

PM231703 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks in Tirana"]

[Text] Tirana—K. Alia, first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee and chairman of the Albanian People's Assembly Presidium, received K. Papoulias, Greek foreign minister, and other members of the Greek Government who are visiting Albania.

ATA reports that the sides expressed satisfaction with the recent development of relations between Albania and Greece and the determination to deepen cooperation in various spheres in mutual interests.

The Greek ministers were also received by A. Carcani, chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers, and held talks with their Albanian colleagues. It is reported that A. Carcani and Greek Prime Minister A. Papandreou exchanged messages containing proposals to implement mutual visits.

Albanian Foreign Minister R. Malile and K. Papoulias signed an agreement in Tirana between the Governments of Albania and Greece on economic, industrial, technical, and scientific cooperation.

West Europe

Further on Portuguese Leader's Visit

Speaks at Kremlin Dinner

PM241935 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report on 23 November Kremlin dinner speech by Mario Soares, president of the Portuguese Republic, replying to speech by A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, under the general heading: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] First of all, I would like to thank you for the magnificent welcome given us all—my wife, those accompanying us, and myself personally—on our arrival in Moscow, he said. I would also like to emphasize, Mr Chairman, how great is the hope shared by us all that this visit will be able to mark the start of a new stage in relations between the Soviet Union and Portugal. The open and frank atmosphere in which the talks which began today have taken place enables us to believe that, after the visit, we will find new ways to cooperate in relations between our two states, remaining true to principles of mutual respect, mutual advantage, and noninterference in internal affairs.

Starting in 1974, our states' representatives have repeatedly had high-level contacts. I personally also had the honor of visiting the Soviet Union at Your Excellency's invitation early in 1975 as foreign minister of the young

Portuguese democracy, which had been restored following the "Carnation Revolution." But the present visit—the first to the USSR by a democratically elected Portuguese head of state—is of special significance. Using the powers invested in me by democratic legality, in the presence of members of the government and deputies of all the political parties represented in the Assembly of the Republic, I wish, on behalf of the Portuguese people, to express the sincere desire of the Portuguese state to establish new mutual understanding with the Soviet state with a view to arranging broader and more intensive cooperation for the good of the cause of development and peace.

For reasons connected with the complex and distinctive nature of the process of consolidating democracy in my country—reasons which you know well—relations between the Soviet Union and Portugal have not reached the level that could have been hoped for. I believe the time has now come to sum up results and examine possibilities of broadening and deepening our cooperation in the new spirit of dialogue within the framework of normal paths of interstate ties. This will enable us to avoid misunderstanding and develop our relations on a solid and clear basis.

Portugal 13 years after the April Revolution is a modern, open, European country. Following the overthrow of the dictatorship, which for decades had suppressed the Portuguese people's most elementary civil rights and brought upon the country conditions of almost total international isolation and economic and social stagnation, Portugal won the hard battle to restore pluralist democracy, carried out the necessary decolonization process in record time, and made efforts in the economic sphere in conjunction with profound social reforms and structural modernization. This has yielded fruits and enables us today to count on rapid progress. The transformations which have been implemented have enabled my country to occupy by natural means the place in West Europe which belongs to it from geographic and cultural viewpoints, the culmination of which was its joining the European communities as a full and equal member. Here we hope to be able to play a role worthy of the responsibility invested in us by the country's centuries-old history, which, to use Camues' expression, has given "the world new worlds," and by the calling of a nation open for joint life with other peoples and civilizations.

On the other hand, Portugal's membership in the Atlantic alliance, which has never been questioned, not even during the first years of the revolution, remains a reality of Portuguese foreign policy, which is open for resolving problems of peace and security and is implemented on the basis of an interest in dialogue among all countries—with "Third World" countries above all—and in protection of human rights wherever they are violated.

The composition of the delegation accompanying me, which includes parliamentarians, scientific and cultural figures, and representatives of employer circles in addition to members of the government, is also a manifestation of the desire which inspires us to work well during these days to ensure that this visit results in a substantial improvement in our relations in all spheres.

At the same time, we want to discuss not only questions of a bilateral nature.

Recent events in the world arena confirm our hope that it is possible to ensure the supremacy of common sense in international relations and forever completely remove the specter of war, which has already become in this century the cause of so many casualties and is capable now of leading to a catastrophe on a universal scale. All peace-loving peoples hail the treaty which I hope the Soviet Union and the United States will soon sign with a view to destroying medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, regarding it as a historic step on the way to considerably reducing the level of arms, both nuclear and conventional. This is also the best way to proceed to resolve problems of hunger, poverty, and ignorance, from which a large number of people on all continents unfortunately suffer.

For, if we look at things realistically, we cannot try to find effective ways to resolve the problems encountered by more than two-thirds of mankind today, as well as the common problems affecting industrial countries, unless we channel those huge sums spent today on creating and using lethal weapons into assisting the most backward countries and raising living standards.

Because of the close, fraternal ties which link Portugal with many "Third World" countries and which took shape over 5 centuries of joint life, Portugal feels with special acuteness the tragedies being experienced by the peoples of Africa and Latin America. We seek, within the limits of our ability, to help to surmount some of these difficulties, responding in this way to appeals which are frequently made to us. But the chief role here must be played by the great powers, which bear global responsibility, if they do not want to jeopardize their own interests. The resumption of the "North-South" dialogue and a search for a solution to the problems of the Latin American countries' foreign debts are the priority tasks nowadays. Unless they are resolved, new and increasingly serious hotbeds of instability will arise in the world.

The existing regional conflicts, some of which have already lasted decades, sowing violence and enmity, as a result of which elementary human rights are trampled, are also arousing growing concern in those before whose eyes innocent peoples are being sacrificed to the perfidious interests of supremacy and oppression. One such conflict is tearing southern Africa apart, where the inhuman apartheid regime cites external interference in the region's affairs as justification for preserving the climate of social injustice and confrontation with neighboring countries, leading to incessant clashes and suffering. Everything must be done to establish an atmosphere

of dialogue in relations among the countries of that region, without external interference, which merely hampers the search for ways to resolve an already complex and dangerous situation. Portugal, which is very familiar with the problems of southern Africa and is linked with Angola and Mozambique by bonds of genuine fraternity, calls indefatigably for a search for concerted solutions capable of restoring peace in the region, where thousands of Portuguese citizens still live today. We quite recently declared this once again during the historic visit to Portugal by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola. Thus, we hope that greater realism and sincerity will be asserted in relations among all who bear responsibility and that positive solutions can finally be found to southern Africa's so complex problems.

We are seriously concerned at what is happening in another region: I mean Indonesia's systematic refusal to recognize the right to self-determination of the people of East Timor. Portugal has no claims on East Timor. But it cannot tolerate the annexation which was carried out against the will expressed by the people and which plainly violates the basic principles of the UN Charter.

The atmosphere reigning in Central America today inspires us with considerable hope. We sincerely believe that strict fulfillment of the Arias plan would help to return to all countries of the region peace, democracy, and freedom, of which the peoples of some of them have long been deprived. Portugal has supported this plan from the very first minute and hopes that Central America will at last be able to escape from the vicious circle of dictatorships and socioeconomic backwardness in which it has found itself almost permanently until recently.

The principle of the world's indivisibility proclaimed in the Helsinki Final Act makes it incumbent that, in addition to constant efforts aimed at ending all conflicts and curbing and lowering the rate of the arms race, everyone be guaranteed the opportunity to make full use of the rights peculiar to him not only as a living being but also as a free citizen obliged to take an active part in building and managing the society in which he lives. Without respect for these rights, achievement of world peace will always be something incomplete, because it is precisely for the free person that we want to see the world more developed and living in full concord. Attainment of this goal, with full observance of the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of any state, is an urgent and pressing task.

During this visit, I will be able to familiarize myself with various spheres of life in the Soviet Union, and not only here in Moscow but also in the republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan, whose cultural wealth and ancient traditions I am impatient to get to know. I know that this entire vast union lives in an atmosphere of hope engendered by the policy of glasnost and restructuring of the Soviet state being so boldly pursued by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. A few days ago I held in my hands M.S. Gorbachev's book on restructuring, which has been published in our country. Today the whole world is following with tremendous attention the course of historic transformations being implemented in the USSR. Therefore it will be with tremendous interest that we will discuss with the Soviet delegation questions concerning our bilateral relations, as well as the problems of peace, security, and international cooperation. I can assure you, Mr Chairman, that we will discuss all these questions in a constructive spirit, since we long ago realized that it is only on the basis of dialogue and joint balanced regard for mutual interests that strong relations can be built between states.

In conclusion, M. Soares wished A.A. Gromyko and his wife personal happiness and proposed a toast to cooperation between our two states, to the great Soviet people's happy future under conditions of social concord, freedom, and progress, and to peace throughout the world.

Meets With Gorbachev

LD241731 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 24 Nov

[Text] Moscow, 24 Nov (TASS)—A meeting took place in the Kremlin today between M.S. Gorbachev and M. Soares, president of the Portuguese Republic. Welcoming the guest, M.S. Gorbachev described his visit as a significant event capable of providing serious impetus to development of Soviet-Portuguese relations. The Soviet Union does not see any obstacles to this and is hoping that the leadership of Portugal, which represents the people, that once discovered routes to the most remote parts of the world, will also facilitate the laying of roads toward mutual understanding and cooperation between our two countries. M.S. Gorbachev recalled the Soviet people's enormous interest in and solidarity with the April 1974 Revolution, which placed Portugal on the path of democracy and progress and which opened up for it the possibility of taking an active part in international affairs.

On behalf of the Soviet people, he expressed respect for the Portuguese people, their history, their contribution to world culture, and the socio-political choice they have made by discarding fascism.

The conversation proceeded in a free, broad, and amicable manner. This was a talk between two politicians who can see the transitional, definitive nature of the situation in today's world and recognize their responsibility for ensuring that their countries participate in accordance with their capabilities in resolving world problems. They spoke about overcoming confrontational or semi-confrontational conditions in relations between states on the basis of equality and a balance of interests, about European security and the priority importance of Europe in the policies of the two states, about the role of Europe in world affairs, and about cooperation between developed countries, including within the framework of the United Nations. This would ease overcoming of the

conspicuous problems of developing countries based on respect for their independent choice. The partners in conversation agreed that ending the arms race, implementing the concept of "disarmament for development", and settling regional conflicts would be a decisive step in this direction.

The situation in Angola was touched on in particular in this connection. M. Soares set out his view of Angolan problems on the basis of Portugal's ancient and close ties with that country.

The partners in the conversation exchanged opinions about the state of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear weapons in light of M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming visit to the United States and highly appraised the possibility of concluding a treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles. M.S. Gorbachev informed M. Soares about his readiness to also tackle with President Reagan other issues of reducing the nuclear threat, first and foremost, the problem of reducing strategic weapons.

The partners in the conversation held a useful discussion about the technological modernization of production, with the emphasis on the social consequences of this in the conditions of differing systems. M.S. Gorbachev observed that the socialist system is prepared to compete with the capitalist system in regard to the way in which a person's interests will be protected in the new stage of technological change.

M. Soares has read M.S. Gorbachev's book *"Restructuring and the New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World,"* which had sold out in 2 days with an unprecedented print run for Portugal. He highly assessed the book from the viewpoint of elucidation of the role of the world public and Soviet intentions at the present stage of work development. He asked the author to dwell on certain issues raised in the book, to which he received detailed answers, in particular in regard to restructuring's entering a new decisive stage, where the concept joins with all spheres of life itself—economic, political, social, spiritual, and relating to the party.

In implementing restructuring, M.S. Gorbachev said, we want to improve our society, renew it materially and spiritually, and through this, through an improvement in the lives of Soviet people, to move toward building better relations with other countries.

M. Soares expressed hope for the success of restructuring. For his part he told of the changes in Portuguese society and of Portugal's membership in the EEC, what it provides for his country, and what his country provides for the "common market", in particular in the context of development of its ties with the countries of other continents, in contacts with which Portugal has many centuries of experience.

Particular attention was devoted to Soviet-Portuguese relations. A mutual desire was evinced to expand and improve economic ties, to make political dialogue on general and specific issues regular, to promote a better acquaintance of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Portugal with each other, and exchanges of cultural and intellectual treasures.

The partners in the conversation ascertained that there is a definite increase in international trust. This is noticeable in many countries, and in American society as well, which allows one to reckon on an improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, in which the whole world community has an interest.

The President of Portugal invited the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to pay an official visit to his country. The invitation was received with gratitude.

Talks With Gromyko

LD241923 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—Andrey Gromyko's talks with the president of Portugal Mario Soares ended this afternoon in the Kremlin. The participants in the talks were joined by the Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro and the director general of the politico-economic department of the Portuguese Foreign Ministry Jose Cutileiro, who came to Moscow already after the talks had begun.

The interlocutors devoted the second meeting, as it was agreed, to discussing mostly bilateral relations. The talks resulted in the mutual agreement that the comprehensive development of Soviet-Portuguese ties in all fields was the central task.

The sides unanimously evaluated the conversation between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Mario Soares as being exceptionally important for strengthening understanding between the two countries on fundamental international problems and also for expanding Soviet-Portuguese cooperation.

"In the thirteen and a half years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Portugal these relations have had their ups and downs", Andrey Gromyko said. "We were able to see and compare virtually all the possible variants of their state. What is the main conclusion for the future prompted by this experience? The conclusion is that good, friendly relations between the USSR and Portugal accord with the interests of both countries. We msut not stop in developing ties between them, we must go further on and search for new forms of cooperation".

Both sides expressed striving to expand the Soviet-Portuguese political dialogue with the aim of exchanging views on topical international problems and solving fundamental matters of practical cooperational in varius

spheres. As it was noted in the course of the discussion, contacts between representatives of the two countries on the state level, inter-parliamentary ties, consultations between ministries and agencies taking part in the maintenance of business ties are becoming a part of the fabric of political relations and are called upon to acquire a regular nature.

The sides agreed that favourable conditions have formed at the present stage for substantial progress in the trade and economic ties between the Soviet Union and Portugal. They declared in favour of expanding mutual trade, improving its structure and increasing goods turnover. They also noted the need to step up efforts to search for new forms of economic cooperation, including the establishment of joint enterprises.

Concrete questions of developing bilateral relations also in the scientific-technical sphere were discussed in a constructive spirit. International scientific conferences that were organised by Portuguese scientists and attended by Soviet specialists were positively assessed. The Portuguese colleagues spoke in the same vein about international scientific conferences in the Soviet Union.

The participants in the talks declared for a further invigoration of Soviet-Portuguese cultural contacts. Their present level can be considerably raised in order to accord with the rich historical heritage and present cultural potential of the peoples of both countries.

The development of ties can and should be pursued also along the line of sport, tourism and other areas of cooperation.

In conclusion of the talks both sides positively assessed the visit by the president of the Portuguese Republic to the Soviet Union. The sides expressed confidence that the mutual understanding achieved in the course of this visit will facilitate the deepening of political dialogue, the expansion of the mutually advantageous and full-blooded business cooperation between the two countries in various fields.

The atmosphere at the talks was constructive and friendly.

Trade Agreement Signed

LD241701 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—An agreement between the Governments of the USSR and Portugal on economic, industrial and technical cooperation, signed here today, provides for an expansion and diversification of economic relations, including traditional trade exchange, industrial co-production and creation of mixed enterprises, the holding of fairs, exhibitions and symposiums and other forms of mutual ties.

The agreement was signed by the USSR Minister of Foreign Trade Boris Aristov and the Portuguese Minister of Trade and Tourism Ferreira do Amaral.

Signed within the framework of the current visit to the USSR by the President of Portugal Mario Soares, the agreement provides also for the creation of a mixed commission that is called upon to identify fields of cooperation and give recommendations on concrete programmes of bilateral business ties. The agreement strengthens the legal basis of the entire set of economic ties and creates more favourable conditions for developing trade.

Trade ties between the Soviet Union and Portugal began to develop comparatively recently—since 1974. During this period because of various reasons bilateral trade has had its ups and downs. Trade turnover reached its maximum in 1981—183 million roubles. In the subsequent period trade amounted to 80-100 million roubles a year. But in 1986 the sharp drop of prices of energy carriers and a number of agricultural products resulted in a decline of mutual trade to 65 million roubles. This year, specialists say, the conclusion of contracts exceeds somewhat the level of the previous year. They believe that an increase of Portuguese purchases of Soviet commodities, first of all machinery and equipment, and a further expansion of the nomenclature of commodities of mutual trade could give a considerable impetus to the development of bilateral trade.

Latin America & Caribbean

Brazil's Sarney Interviewed on Soviet Relations

PM231053 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Nov 87 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with President Jose Sarney of Brazil by PRAVDA correspondents V. Gubarev, D. Shnyukas, and S. Svistunov: "Growing Warmer"]

[Excerpts] Brasilia, November—[passage omitted]

Brazilians have marked the anniversary of Great October on a wide scale. Learned conferences and meetings with Soviet writers, journalists, artistes, and embassy and consulate personnel have been held in many cities. In South America's largest city, Sao Paulo, there was a "Festival of Glasnost" organized by Brazilian Communists. More than 50,000 persons attended it. Brazilian television and major newspapers and magazines devoted special features to the 70th anniverary of Great October. A *Pravda* delegation participated in the "Festival of Glasnost." V. Gubarev, D. Shnyukas, and S. Svistunov met with workers and students, rural inhabitants, and cultural figures. The delegation's members were received by Brazilian President Jose Sarney. [passage omitted]

Question: How do you rate the present state of Soviet-Brazilian relations and prospects for their development?

Answer: During my time in office, the relations between Brazil and the Soviet Union have taken on a completely new shape and have undergone great development. Greater warmth has also been observed in the political sphere. The Brazilian foreign minister paid his first visit to the Soviet Union. Recently we welcomed Soviet Foreign Minister E. Shevardnadze here. During his visit, an agreement on cultural cooperation between our countries was signed. And I am hoping to visit the Soviet Union.

We have progressed from trade exchange, pure and simple, to genuinely mature relations between our countries, which are seeking to increasingly strengthen their relations. In the conduct of its foreign policy, Brazil must not be a prisoner either to the line of the great powers or to minor conflicts. Therefore, in respect to a whole series of questions, Brazil proceeds from the same positions as the Soviet Union at international forums, although there are spheres where our positions do not coincide. Thus Brazil's stance is mature, and this applies especially when it is expressing in international organizations its concern about disarmament problems. We are aware that you in the Soviet Union are concerned about the same problems. In this context, we noted with profound satisfaction the support expressed by the Soviet Union for our proposals to create a zone of peace and cooperation free from nuclear weapons in the South Atlantic.

The visit of the Soviet foreign minister has attracted great interest. We held a profound and substantive dialogue on questions of bilateral relations.

Question: We would like to ask you a question about the tragedy which occurred in Goiania. Because of careless handling of radioactive material many people were irradiated, and four of them have already died. We know that you visited the scene of the accident. One of us has worked in Chernobyl and was able to see for himself how dangerous nuclear energy is when it gets out of control. Were your feelings in Goiania similar?

Answer: I always try to separate these two incidents—Goiania and Chernobyl. I do not want the population to dramatize the situation in Goiania—and it is prone to do this—because what we had was nuclear contamination rather than a nuclear accident.

The nuclear problem unquestionably worries people throughout the world. Many puzzles surround this process, and its consequences are unpredictable. Thus the problem of a nuclear conflict in the present-day world concerns not merely the governments and leaderships of specific countries. It is a problem that concerns every person, every citizen, no matter where he lives or what work he does. It is a problem that concerns the whole of mankind. It is a feeling between fear and the unknown. Man is responsible for all the accidents which occur on the planet. His mistakes are very costly. We must learn to understand this. In Goiania, irresponsibility and carelessness were to blame.

...I hope that during your stay in Brazil, in the course of your personal contacts with the country's inhabitants, your were able to feel their warm attitude toward Soviet people and their sincere desire to further develop our relations so that they become even closer and better.

Suriname's Political, Economic Scene Viewed

PM241919 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by TASS Correspondent M. Fokin specially for IZVESTIYA: "Suriname: Time of Trials"]

[Text] Paramaribo, Georgetown—An air of caution greets visitors arriving at Zanderij, Suriname's international airport, these days. The entrances are guarded by armed soldiers, and on the main routes there are armored personnel carriers and machinegun emplacements hurriedly built from sandbags. On the door leading into the customs hall is a large poster with three photographs and the inscription: "Wanted: Ronnie Brunswijk, Henk Palato [name as published], Edgar Chonkoeso [name as published], leaders of counterrevolutionary gangs."

You can only understand what is now happening in Suriname, a small country in the northeast corner of Latin America, by looking into its history. In 1975, the Netherlands, the former mother country of Suriname, formally granted it its independence. Purely externally, the country seemed quite prosperous compared with its neighbors.

Suriname's prosperity depends primarily on bauxite, which produces around 80% of the country's foreign currency earnings annually. Foreign bauxite-mining companies have artificially cultivated a colonial attitude. Surinamers became accustomed to the fact that they have a lot and have no particular worries.

"For decades, Suriname has been ruthlessly exploited and turned into a cheap source of bauxite and and a market for the sale of finished products from the Netherlands," F. Derby, leader of C-47, the country's largest trade union association, told me. "Western monopolies completely disregarded the need for balanced economic development. The artificially created high standard of living could not mean real prosperity because it was based not on domestic development resources but on sops of foreign capital."

It is no wonder, therefore, that Suriname's outward veneer concealed a very gloomy picture: a complete lack of national unity, ethnic alienation, corruption, and dependence on the former motherland.

Then, on 25 February 1980, a group of army sergeants headed by D. Bouterse took power into their own hands after removing from the running of the country the traditional bourgeois parties, which had enjoyed the unlimited confidence of the Netherlands. The military movement did not openly oppose foreign capital but considered it necessary for Surinamers themselves to control the country's wealth. The slogan "We are the masters in our own country" became the watchword of the "Sergeants' Revolution." The course of achieving economic independence was set.

The first albeit modest transformations carried out by the military caused unconcealed irritation on the part of the former colonizers. It became open malice after Suriname began to pursue a foreign policy based on principles of the nonaligned movement and supported the Nicaraguan people's struggle against imperialist pressure and interference.

The chronicle of the subversive campaign mounted against Suriname is a truly classic example of how strong imperialist powers try to stifle a tiny state which has declared its independence. The first few years following D. Bouterse's coming to power were marked by frequent bomb explosions in the streets of Surinamese towns. Several conspiracies were exposed, aimed at destroying the military leaders. Later on, this arsenal of traditional destabilization methods was supplemented by economic blockade and press persecution.

When people across the ocean realized that even this could not produce the government's downfall, reaction switched to armed aggression with the help of mercenaries. It is conducted by counterrevolutionary emigres entrenched in the Netherlands. Someone by the name of Ronnie Brunswijk, former Surinamese Army serviceman and later a deserter and criminal plunderer, has been elected to play the role of the bandits' gang leader.

...The coast guard speedboat sailed out of the Suriname River estuary and, leaping over a huge wave, sped along the Atlantic coast toward the Marowijne River. No sooner had we entered its estuary than the Surinamese soldiers on board were brought to a state of combat readiness, training their assault rifles and machineguns on the coast of neighboring French Guyana.

"Afraid?" a Dutch journalist with whom I already managed to exchange a couple of sentences asked me with a smile on his face. No, I was not afraid but, I must admit, I did not feel particularly cheerful, either. Brunswijk's bandits could have fired on us at any given moment from the coast or from any one of the numerous small islands we passed, and we were talking about gun fire—they are armed with the latest grenade launchers, mortars, and assault rifles.

"Don't worry," the Dutchman told me meanwhile, calmly lighting his pipe, "they won't fire today."

"How do you know?"

"The French, Netherlands, and U.S. military attaches are with us on board the speedboat...."

"So, Brunswijk knows about this trip, and representatives of the Western countries, for their part, have been informed that he is aware of their movements?"

Without answering, the Dutchman looked at me with the somewhat superior smile of someone who knows more than his colleague.

While I was writing this dispatch, news came from Suriname that mercenaries had blown up a power station 100 km to the east of the capital, Paramaribo. As a result of this criminal action, all adjacent regions were left without water or electricity. The total results of terrorist actions include complete decommissioning of the Moengo bauxite mines, destruction and abandonment of the town of Albina, which borders on French Guyana from where the mercenaries started their operations, shutdown of three factories for production of vegetable oil, and blowing up of several power transmission lines. Combat operations have disrupted the entire system of food supplies for the population in many of the country's regions.

Conversations with many Surinamers—politicians, journalists, scientists—convinced me: The progressive regime's policy is supported by the majority of this country's population, despite the harsh consequences of the economic blockade and armed interference which have led to a deterioration in the population's situation, increased financial difficulties, and higher unemployment. The measures adopted by the government during the 7 and 1/2 years to achieve self-sufficiency and expand exports have produced considerable results. During this period, there has been a sharp increase in production of bananas, palm oil, sugar, dairy products, meat, and poultry. A number of processing enterprises have been set up using domestic accumulations and resources of both the state and private sector. Social development programs are being implemented, and schools, housing, and medical stations are being built in the countryside. The state sector has been consolidated, and now it accounts for 25% of the entire gross domestic product. Another important success is the fact that the country has succeeded in organizing its own oil extraction operations in the Tamanredjo region.

"We support the authorities' policy as regards independent development," F. Doorson, a leading figure in the Federation of Surinamese Manufacturers, told me. "We do not need cheap goods from the Netherlands which undermine the developing Surinamese industry. Suriname needs funds to acquire equipment, expand production, and consolidate the national economy. The handouts we received from the Netherlands led only to our country's economic and political subordination."

The government has managed not only to achieve consolidation of the unity of all forces advocating independent development and to enlist the support of parts of the national bourgeoisie and the trade unions, but also to restore constructive dialogue with political parties which have been allowed to resume their activity. Suriname's draft new constitution was approved in September this year. The first general elections since D. Bouterse's coming to power will be held on its basis 25 November.

Grossu, Travkin Attend Mexican Party Congress

PM231533 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Delegation Departure"]

[Text] On 22 November, a CPSU delegation comprising S.K. Grossu, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and V.Ye. Travkin, senior staffer in the CPSU Central Committee International Department, left for Mexico City to attend the first congress of the Mexican Socialist Party.

Presidium Deputy Chairman Orlov Visits Cuba

For Havana radio and television coverage of the visit of Vladimir Pavlovich Orlov, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to Cuba, see the Cuba subsection of the Caribbean section of the 24 November Latin America *Daily Report* and subsequent issues.

Political & Social

Solovyev Addresses Leningrad Party Conference

LD212038 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 21 Nov 87

[Text] Disruptions of plans, and the difficult financial position of some enterprises that were first in Leningrad to switch to financial autonomy, must be carefully studied and serve as a lesson for us all. This was discussed at a conference of the party economic aktiv, held here today. Under examination was the readiness of enterprises and organizations in the city and the oblast for large-scale adaptation to new economic conditions. It was noted that there is now an insufficient understanding of the general principles behind new economic approaches. It is essential that they be employed in practice in everyday work at all levels, from manager to rank-and-file worker.

Accomplishment of economic reform tasks must be accompanied by unconditional fulfilment of the integrated economic and social development plan for the current year. A tense situation is taking shape here, and the end of the year will be a stern test of competence, ability to adjust to the new thinking, and persistence in implementing the restructuring policy for all party, local soviet and economic cadres.

The conference was addressed by Comrade Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee.

First Joint Stock Enterprise Formed in Lvov

LD212159 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1555 GMT 21 Nov 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] The Lvov Konveyer Association has been working for a year under conditions of financial autonomy and self-financing. This has changed the association's relations with customers. The association now does all processes to fill orders they receive, including design, manufacturing, assembly and commissioning. This is an important development, as next year the association will be the first joint stock society in the country. (Valentin Mikhaylovich Vologzhin), the association's director general, said that the society would be based on the principles of the provisions of the law on socialist enterprise. All the workers of the association will become stockholders and will be running the enterprise through a collective labor council, while profits will be shared through a branch of the Social Development Bank.

Abalkin Urges 'Norms' in Restructuring

LD212306 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 87

["Video talk" by L.I. Abalkin, corresponding member of USSR Academy of Science and Director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The distinguishing feature of the current stage of restructuring is that we are moving from working out a concept, a theoretical model of the economic mechanism, to implementing it in practice. Here, the central issues in enterprises transferring to financial autonomy and self-financing is, perhaps, a problem of norms. [passage omitted] I think that today these norms cannot be identical, and they cannot be so for two main reasons. In the first place, these norms are being imposed on the 12th 5-year plan, which has already been drawn up, on the plan envisaged for 1988, 1989, and the 1990s. It must, of course, be coordinated and brought into accord with them. In the second place, conditions in enterprises differ. [passage omitted]

What I think should be of concern to us is that before long a large group of enterprises transfers to the principle of complete financial autonomy and self-financing—starting 1 January enterprises that produce a total of 60% of the country's industrial output are due to transfer to these conditions of work. This means millions, dozens of millions of people, and yet the norms are still stuck somewhere in ministry offices, in the State Planning Committee, in the Ministry of Finance. They should be presented pretty quickly to the people who will have to work and live with them, to those whose destiny will be determined by these norms in the years ahead.

Another thing: We must learn to work in the new way. An analysis conducted here in our institute shows that far from all collectives and, above all, enterprise managers are ready to work in the new way, to assume responsibility, make independent decisions. There are some, it is true. But the habit of coordinating, making things agree, playing it safe, being afraid to take risks, and fearing bold decisions is still at work. One not infrequently comes across a tendency toward levelling in distribution of the sums earned by the enterprises under the new conditions. This must be fought.

The most important thing now is to link up to the management mechanism this energy of the masses, the social energy of labor collectives. [passage omitted]

Four Republic Supreme Soviets Hold Sessions

PM231051 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS reports under general heading "Restructuring Sets the Pace"; first graf is unattributed introduction]

[Text] Converting energetic schemes into energetic actions—this idea is the main theme at the sessions of the union republic supreme soviets now being held.

Deputies are examining topical questions of restructuring, problems of economic activity and the social sphere, and ways of overcoming difficulties and eliminating shortcomings.

Tbilisi, 14 Nov—It was not only the mandated deputies who took part in today's session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, which discussed the State plan for economic and social development and the State budget for the republic for 1988 as well as progress in fulfilling the plan this year. Those people who responded to an invitation in the press to attend the session also took part in examining these questions.

The speakers revealed shortcomings aggravated by the after-effects of the onslaught of the elements this year and mentioned unused reserves for accelerating the intensification of production. Constructive suggestions were put forward for further improving the economic mechanism and ensuring the independence of labor collectives and the strictest policy of economy and thrift.

D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the session's work.

Baku, 14 Nov—Legal back-up for the radical restructuring of the economy which has been launched in the republic was the theme of the discussion at the session of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet which ended work today. The deputies focused their attention on questions of the active use of legal means for increasing social production efficiency and ensuring high output quality.

It was stressed that, as enterprises transfer to the new economic management conditions, the activity of the legal services must be raised to a qualitatively new level.

Kishinev, 14 Nov—Social development and the raising of the people's living standards constitute the essence of the 1988 State plan for the republic's economic and social development ratified at the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet session which ended today. It also examined progress in the fulfillment of the 1987 plan, the 1988 State budget, and the performance of the 1986 state budget.

There were discussions of questions relating to the restructuring of the activity of Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions and the results of the Moldavian Council of Ministers' completion of the long-term comprehensive program of environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources through the year 2005.

Frunze, 14 Nov—The transition to economic management methods which begins next year will be a major test of the soviets' ability to work in the new conditions. To ensure a high level of activity is the important task facing the republic's soviet and economic organs. This was said at the session of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet held today, which adopted laws on the State plan for the republic's economic and social development for 1988 and the 1988 State budget.

Taking part in the session's work was A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee.

'Genuine' Internationalism Needed

PM231535 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Nov 87 pp 1,3

[Article by Janis Peters: "Genuine Internationalism Presupposes..."]

[Text] Riga—In 1920 Vladimir Ilich Lenin wrote: "Antagonism and contradictions are by no means the same thing. The first is disappearing, the second will remain under socialism." It is these contradictions actually existing in our life that we must consider now that we are analyzing and viewing our life in a new way.

I would like to share with *Literaturnaya Gazeta* readers my ideas on how I see the practice of relations between nationalities after the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee January, June, and October (1987) Plenums.

Ordinary, unsophisticated people in Latvia quite often express the simplistic idea that allegedly only Latvians suffered during the personality cult years, while Georgians apparently enjoyed greater privileges, since Stalin—himself a Georgian—spared "his own," and so forth. On the other hand some of our propagandists, when discussing the events that took place in the Baltic in 1941, fail to take account of the fact that the class struggle under those conditions was accompanied by tragic injustices. At the same time, counting on our lack of information, Nazi stooges from the fascist occupation period as well as representatives of the overthrown ruling class would like to associate themselves, in "exposing" the personality cult, with the fate of those who were indeed subjected to illegal repression.

Today it is well known that other republics were no less affected than Latvia by injustices, starting with Russia, and including Georgia—those to suffer included peasants, workers, and many representatives of that talented people's intelligentsia: poets, scientists, party figures... I think that we are still just learning to think in the context of the history of our entire country—both when we talk about positive phenomena and when we talk about tragedies. Yet the blood shed for a common cause or flouted human dignity often rallies people of different nationalities more closely together than common joys.

We must discuss this with the entire Soviet people, who managed to defend their friendship at the most important times and are continuing to strengthening it. We must discuss the fact that in the thirties and forties there

were neither "protected" or "unprotected" peoples, and that V. Blyukher, M. Tukhachevskiy, A. Yegorov, A. Yenukidze, and many, many other representatives of both Russian and other ethnic groups were arrested along with Yan Rudzutak, Robert Eykhe, Robert Eydeman, Yakov Alksnis, and Ioakim Vatsiyetis. Now that we are striving for democratization in order to ensure that there are no "blind spots" in history and to cleanse socialism of the slightest indications of the violation of Leninist norms in party and social life, our common historical destiny and the memory of bitter periods demand that we reject all kinds of standards and routine, all kinds of hushing up or trimming.

In a recent interview with the magazine *Ogonek* Chingiz Aytmatov discussed a pernicious phenomenon—hitherto undiscussed—which, I am sure, is also a result of bureaucratic unscrupulousness. In regard to national nihilism, he said: "Unfortunately, and this often happens, there are forces among the people itself which are self-denying. They engage in self-incrimination. I call this national nihilism. This phenomenon is just as reactionary as nationalism itself. But since national nihilism is not mentioned or condemned in the press and since nobody hears any complaints about it, some people think that they are onto a winner and can act with impunity. Some of these selfish 'players' christen themselves 'superinternationalists.'"

I consider Aytmatov's ideas extremely important for all Soviet society and indispensable for the moral improvement of every republic. It is simply impossible to overstate their importance. Only a natural and unconstrained blend of the national and international can promote the formation of a healthy attitude in people toward their own and other nations.

I and other colleagues of mine were worried to read alarming press articles by Belorussian and Ukrainian writers discussing the decline of the national language in the republic's schools, as a result of the activities of "superinternationalists" and which runs counter to Leninist teaching and practice. Here in Latvia with the republic leadership's support we have been doing a great deal to prevent a breakdown of the links between the national and the international, including in the language sphere—links which were laid down by the first Latvian Marxists and subsequently by the revolutionary Latvian riflemen. The Latvian riflemen, Lenin's bodyguard, were genuine internationalists because they respected the traditions and languages of the peoples of the former Russian Empire. They laid down their lives and shed their blood for the sake of the revolution in order that all peoples—and that includes the Latvian people—could create and reveal their own socialist statehood to the full and could ensure that their language and culture acquired equal rights in the union of all the Soviet republics. This fact was highly assessed by M.S. Gorbachev during his stay in Latvia in February 1987.

As internationalists, the Latvian revolutionaries never forgot their language and national songs. In June 1918, when the first Latvian riflemen song festival was held, Russian and West European classics were joined by songs that had rocked the riflemen to sleep in their cradles.

Today, relying on precisely these traditions—the traditions of the Leninist revolutionary generation—we must do everything to ensure that the cultural level of national and inter-nation relations is enhanced. We have many problems, and it is no accident that a Latvian Communist Party Central Committee special standing commission has been set up in the republic to tackle these problems. As a member of this commission, I know that our republic has the highest migrant population in percentage terms in the country. A developed national economy (although often lacking solid economic foundations), a relatively good leisure industry and service standards, a labor shortage, and the traditional legend (or myth) of Riga as a European city attract very mixed sections of the population to Latvia.

It would be naive to think that this does not affect the mentality and the economic and social position of the indigenous population. Along with the truly valuable things brought to the republic by representatives of the USSR's other peoples, the republic is also infiltrated by the "philosophy" of consumers and adventure-seekers. These consumers speculate not only in digital watches and drugs but in ideology. As far as they are concerned natives of the republic—be they Latvian, Russian, or Belorussian—instantly become "aboriginals," "nationalists," or even "bourgeois nationalists." Such people pose as internationalists, although in fact they are cosmopolitans of the most vulgar kind. This cannot but damage friendship among the peoples.

Today we must weightily and convincingly expose such belligerent "superinternationalists" in literature and the press. I think that in Latvia—a republic with a large migrant population in percentage terms—it would be expedient to publish a special print organ devoted to questions of national and inter-nation relations. This would be a practical rather than academic publication, whose articles would be of an applied and relevant nature. People want to "confess" and to reflect, and such a publication would be of great use.

The question of language practice is particularly acute in our republic. For many centuries, from the end of the 12th century, when the ancient Lettish tribes were subjugated by the knights of the Teutonic Order, the people, who had been unable to to assume a coherent political, economic, administrative, or territorial form, fought to save their language by relying on folklore. Now, thanks to the fundamental ideas of socialism, Leninist theory and practice, and the sovereignty of the Latvian SSR the language has not only been saved but is developing, and literature—a component part of multinational Soviet literature—is being created in it. That is a truism. But

truisms, as is well known, are learned even before we go to school. Since our society's schooldays are a thing of the past it would be naive, to put it mildly, to be content with simple truths in the sphere of ideology and propaganda. The processes taking place in the republic should not be judged merely by the practice prevailing in "intellectual circles"—state institutions where theoretically well-grounded people are polite to each other and have mastered at least two languages.

Above all, we must visit schools and see how the land lies with regard to language instruction. Sad to say, the picture is distressing: The practice that has hitherto existed in the republic attests that in schools with Russian-language teaching an alarming situation has arisen with regard to Latvian—children have no opportunity to learn it properly. My conclusion is unambiguous—this deprives the students of any living contact with the culture and traditions of the republic's indigenous nation and consequently does not accord with the modern status of Soviet society. Today's students will be tomorrow's citizens with full rights. Most of them will continue to work here in Latvia, and it is they who will shape the republic's everyday life on both the nationwide and international levels. The fact that such people cannot even greet others, not to mention express themselves in basic terms at the medical centers where they work as doctors, in the stores where they deal with customers, or on the street if they become policemen, damages not only their personal prestige but that of the country. The republic's education system needs fundamental changes to prevent a deterioration in the status of students at Russian-language schools—after all, they are no less able than students at Latvian-language schools who successfully learn Russian, which is the language for communication between nations in our country. Undoubtedly, in this respect we should also hope for deeper knowledge—it turns out that the level of knowledge of Russian in Latvian (and not only Latvian) rural schools is lower than in city schools. In this connection the question of opening Latvian-language maritime colleges is a very topical one for Latvia. We do not have enough fishermen, so they have to be recruited from inland regions. Yet many graduates of Latvian-language high schools do not go to maritime colleges since, naturally, it is hard for them to switch straight into another language of instruction for the teaching of subjects such as navigation, astronomy, and mathematics. In my opinion, we should also seriously discuss the question of mandatory and more detailed study in the republic's schools of the history of Latvia as part of the USSR's history (and, correspondingly, the history of each union and autonomous republic, and even each oblast and kray in the RSFSR).

The Language Festival which we organized for the first time this year is one form of restructuring in the language sphere. Its purpose was to raise the standard of education of all inhabitants of the republic. During the festival the radio, television, and press paid special attention to language standards: How we use Russian, Latvian, German, English, French. At the festival we honored linguists and teachers and talked of the need to observe the Leninist principle of the equality of languages in a multinational state. We dwelt in particular on the fact that mastery of Russian in no way means renouncing the precious legacy of one's father and mother, the language that the people have managed to preserve. It must be said that the republic's multinational public quite clearly recognized the good intentions in the aspirations of the Language Festival—the Latvian Writers' Union and the republic's Education Ministry.

In the future we propose to actively promote the publication of Russian-Latvian and Latvian-Russian phrase books and the writing of good-quality textbooks. Perhaps language study centers will be set up to operate on a permanent basis. Might not the House of Languages become the republic's center for international education, a temple of the friendship of the peoples? One might study Latvian there, as well as Russian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian, and the languages of the Baltic Sea countries—Swedish, Finnish, Danish, and Norwegian. A group comprising students from other Soviet republics and four foreigners is now being organized on the initiative of the Latvian Writers' Union and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education to study Latvian at the Latvian State University. It is a step forward in international practice. In Latvia is was initiated and actively implemented by Yan Raynis and Linard Laytsen, Andrey Upit and Oyar Vatsiyetis. Today the noble mission is being continued by Imant Ziyedonis and Vizma Belshevits, Knut Skuyeniyeks and Uldis Berzinsh. Latvian writers, representatives of different generations, have done much to ensure that Latvians today can have in their personal libraries books translated not only from Russian, German, Spanish, English, and French, but also from, for instance, Moldavian, Tajik, Georgian, Buryat, Chuvash, and Altay. The Latvian literature festival in Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast and the visit to Latvia by guests from Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast demonstrated how fruitful such contacts between peoples are if the doors of internationalism are opened with Leninist care and not with smug narrow-mindedness.

Our poets Uldis Berzinsh and Petaris Bruveris, specialists in Turkic languages, have mastered the basics of Altay and are already able to translate Altay folklore and literature into Latvian. I believe it is also a new form of literary festival, conforming to the spirit of restructuring—no toasts and oaths of "eternal friendship," but work, collaboration, getting to know one another. Both our poets have lived among shepherds, studying a language that is spoken by a small, hard-working people living in the Altay mountains, numbering 50,000 plus.

No "superinternationalists," no seekers of signs of "bourgeois nationalism" are actually capable, in real life, of upholding internationalism and comradeship with other peoples, of displaying solidarity. These windbags

are only capable of manipulating concepts or, as has happened in the recent past, of proposing toasts at tables weighed down with goodies, raising brimming glasses, sometimes even forgetting what republic they are in—Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia, what's the difference?

By its very nature literature rests on a national basis—on language. It is axiomatic. But today we would be lapsing into elitism if we were to entrust the solution of the question of links and interaction between languages to the intelligentsia alone and if literature were to be the sole argument for the conformity of our nationalities policy to Leninist traditions. But when there is no established practice of inter-nation relations and theory is not confirmed by concrete, daily instances, the writer, no matter what splendid language he uses, will be stuck in an ivory tower.

Today Soviet writers must sound the alarm whenever Lenin's nationalities policy is violated and whenever there is a case of voluntarist planning of the national economy. After all, it was short-sighted planning that gave rise to problems in the demographic situation: Latvia was living at the expense of other regions and was luring from those regions people who ended up being cut off from their roots, from the economy, and from their native culture. There have been cases where people from deserted Belorussian or Pskov villages have become shack dwellers here or have been housed in jerry-built apartments. And when, after a short time, the person discovers that he is working at a loss-making enterprise, he is psychologically in an unenviable situation, because he runs the risk of becoming a "little man" without social rights, whose fate has been autocratically decided somewhere at the center by the capricious will of the planners, the adherents of all-powerful administrative centralism. If one goes by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum such "recruitment" should be impossible—after all, an enterprise operating at a loss is harming the national economy. Clearly, in the future, the public, guided by the principles of glasnost and democratism, will have to discuss the advisability of the construction of this or that facility.

Genuine internationalism presupposes that one people will respect another and protect it. Then, a person, on meeting another person, will be happy and will be amazed at his beauty and talent. Distances will be measured not in kilometers, but in terms of similar historical destinies. Patriotism and internationalism will become an almost physical anguish for a people in trouble. This is how I see not the antagonism, but the contradictions of our multinational society, in whose complex interplay history has ordained that we should live and be victorious. What is more, "multinational" is not equivalent to "international." In fact, internationalism is a spiritual and moral concept, genuinely socialist and Leninist.

Chazov Interviewed on Health Care Plans

LD202247 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 20 Nov 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] It has already been reported that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo examined and approved the main directions for development of public health care and restructuring of the USSR public health service in the 12th 5-year plan and for the period up to the year 2000, taking into account addenda and amendments introduced as a result of their public discussion. Yevgeniy Ivanovich Chazov, USSR Health Minister, tells our correspondent how the discussion of the main directions took place and what the document envisages. [video shows Chazov being interviewed by Nataliy Prokofeyva—identified by screen caption]

[Begin recording] [Prokofyeva] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, the discussion of the draft for restructuring the health service lasted 6 weeks. How active was it?

[Chazov] It was very interesting. During that period we received, or rather carried out sociological research on the course of the discussion, and it turned out that 46% of the population fully approved the draft decision. Twenty percent approve of the draft as a whole, but they express doubts as to whether improvements in health service in a specific rayon or a specific city can occur.

[Prokofyeva] Unfortunately, we too discovered this.

[Chazov] That is right. I could cite the following figures, that state allocations for our public's health care are being increased something like 3-fold. This, of course, is going to produce tangible results. But let me say that this not only involves the financial side; organization and management of the health service are also changing. Doctors' qualifications are to be raised. We have already begun this. Health service institutions' independence is to be expanded. The very style, the very priorities in health service are changing. We spoke a lot about this, about the prehospitalization stage as the principal stage in public health care. We spoke about going over to the working principle of family doctors in our general practice. Much has already been done in this respect. Decisions are being made by the Health Ministry, by the Council of Ministers. You know that a decision was published recently under which allocations for medication, nutrition, equipment, and so on and so forth are increased. So there is every basis to think that this decision will not merely remain on paper because it is reinforced with financial resources and with specific proposals for restructuring of the health service.

[Prokofyeva] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, could you tell us please whether in the final version the key provisions are nevertheless going to remain the same?

[Chazov] All the key provisions of the draft have been accepted by our people. You know that in the press and on television there have been many discussions on a variety of questions. Some, for example, spoke about paying for medical services. Well, free medical service is one of the greatest gains of socialism, and the principle of free treatment is emphasized and runs right through the entire decision. This does not mean... [changes thought] of course certain sections of fee-charging medical services, of our self-financing institutions are to be expanded, but they amount to a small percentage of the total volume of provision of medical assistance in the country.

[Prokofyeva] But what does self-financing in the health service mean?

[Chazov] First, our future is going to be built on, well, intrasector self-financing. We are going to have these kind of experiments in three oblasts: Leningrad, Kuybyshev, and Kemerovo ooblasts. If a patient goes to hospital, it is the polyclinic which pays for the patient's stay in hospital.

[Prokofyeva] (? Do they have the resources)?

[Chazov] They have the resources. Of course, you are going to ask whether there may arise a case where, for example, the patient has to be hospitalized, while the polyclinic does not refer him. Well, this could arise, but we are reinforcing it with a whole number of qualitative indicators in regard to health-health indicators. It will be more profitable for the polyclinic to send the patient for, let us say, an operation, rather than to get some complications later on, on which it would have to spend more resources. So I think that here there are mutual benefits—for the citizen, whose health service is provided by the polyclinic or the Polyclinical Surgeries Association, and for the state, which will get greater efficiency from the public health service in the area of public health care. [end recording]

Health Officials on Psychiatry, AIDS Problems

LD231518 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 87

[From the "Health" program; program hostess Dr Yuliya Belyanchikova at a news conference addressed by USSR Health Minister Chazov and Academician Pokrovskiy, president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences]

[Excerpts] [Belyanchikova] Hello, dear comrades! Our television cameras today are in the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. In a few minutes, or now probably in a few seconds, a press conference will be given by Academician Yevgeniy Ivanovich Chazov. [passage omitted]

[Nimov] Nimov, of *Sovetskaya Rossiya*. Today our newspaper has published an article by Potapov, RSFSR health minister. Could we please hear your opinion of the problems in Soviet psychiatry today?

[Chazov] I must say that that is no easy question. The attack against Soviet psychiatry has been going on for a long time, you know. I am not a psychiatrist, but I came up against this when I was one of the cochairmen of the International Physicians Movement. When our opponents wanted to destroy our ideas, the ideas of our doctors and our country, they came out with one thing—How can you believe this Academician Chazov?—even though I am not a psychiatrist. "They're all the same. Look at what is happening over there! They are told to put a patient in the hospital, and they do it!" What is more, this attack was inspired and has been waged very actively. Of course, there are probably unscrupulous people in every sphere. There are shortcomings, and this cannot be accepted.

But today, you know, I received a letter from Professor Lown, whom you know of. He sent me an article written by the Moscow correspondent of *The New York Times*, Felicity Barringer. What she wrote remains a source of unpleasant anti-Soviet agitation. The article is dated 21 October. "Compulsory psychiatric treatment continues to be used in the Soviet Union despite public criticism of it in the Soviet press." "No changes are taking place," said one Vladimir Titov. I have no idea who he is. "What is more, the situation has changed for the worse. This year a series of articles in the Soviet press about psychiatry has described the terrible conditions in psychiatric clinics. Vladimir Pimenov said: We cannot guarantee that all the people placed in psychiatric clinics are healthy. However, it is inhumane to put them into such conditions. They are not murderers, nor are they terrorists."

Well, I may not agree with Mr Pimenov, or Comrade Pimenov—It is difficult for me to say which he is. But one sad piece of news I can give you, for example, is that yesterday in Moscow a psychiatric doctor was killed, and another is in a grave condition in the intensive care unit at Botkin Hospital. I believe the Soviet press must be aware of these situations.

Here, for example, is a list of 112 people who allegedly under wrong diagnosis are in Soviet psychiatric clinics. It turns out, however, that today only 8 of the 112 on that list are in those hospitals. They are there by court rulings, not only because of some sort of criticism, but because of terrorism and other acts threatening citizens' lives. Ten of the people on the list have left for the West, but the most interesting thing is the funny things that happen in life. On this list there was one Nikolay Baranov. Well, he left for the West; he went to London. Here he was simply a mental patient: He had leaped out at a nurse and beat her up, and so on and so forth. So he went off to London.

and there on the streets of London he beat up two passers-by and was placed in a psychiatric hospital in London. Now Baranov says that he wants to return to the Soviet Union!

Another name on the list, for example, is (Mantkelis) from Latvia. He is also listed as having being wrongly diagnosed by our psychiatrists. But he was sent to a psychiatric hospital because he murdered three young boys while in a state of delirium. He is on the list being circulated of people who were wrongly diagnosed as schizophrenics and so on.

What else can I say? An article appeared in *Komolskaya Pravda*, where there were a number of questions that were rightly raised: about the lagging behind, about our poor facilities, about the fact that diagnosis must be approved. I am not a specialist, I am not a psychiatrist; probably the psychiatrists will reply to *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and give explanations or make remarks. Probably it is they who ought to do that. But for all that, what I would say is this. When you read the article, you think: Surely the correspondent could have at least come to see the deputy minister to find out that back on April 2d there was an expanded collegium of the USSR Health Ministry at which all the questions raised were examined. I can read to you from this paper [video shows Chazov picking up a document from the desk] for example, some decisions made by that collegium which explain many of the questions. If this had been added to that article, everything would be clear and understandable.

So then, point 4: In conjunction with the Serbskiy All-Union General Forensic Psychiatry Research Institute and the Moscow Psychiatric Research Institute of the USSR Health Ministry, it is resolved during 1987 to carry out preparatory measures, and in 1988-89 to implement an experiment in a whole number of areas throughout the country to reorganize the procedure for putting patients on an outpatients' register and keeping psychiatric patients under observation with a view to further improving the outpatient system and improving its efficiency. Currently, as we meet here today, working conferences are taking place.

But you are sensible people, comrades. You realize the responsibility that a psychiatric doctor has in deciding whether to allow, or to expand the possibilities for, the release of psychiatric patients. You can imagine what would happen if a psychiatric patient were to be released and killed a child. The doctor would be responsible. So it is not an simple question, but we are working on it, and will continue to do so.

Incidentally, one very interesting thing. We wrote and made a suggestion to the U.S. Department of Health. Dear Sirs, we said: You say that our psychiatrists are making wrong diagnoses. All right then, you have psychiatrists. Put forward some names, let us set up a joint commission of Soviet and U.S. psychiatrists, or international psychiatrists, and let us check the diagnoses. If they are wrong, you tell us; if they are right, we will announce it jointly.

We received an official reply from the head of the Foreign Relations Administration of the U.S. Health Department which stated clearly and simply that U.S. psychiatrists are not interested in Soviet psychiatry, and that as they had no interest, they would not be putting together or sending a delegation.

[Belyanchikova] I am from the Health program on central television. Everyone must be interested in the problem of AIDS. What are the latest facts experts have about this, and, in particular, what is the situation in our country?

[Pokrovskiy] In our country, we still have one patient with the developed clinical symptoms of the disease. His condition is quite satisfactory, since for almost a year now he has been undergoing comprehensive treatment. But practically every week, fresh cases, or rather people, are diagnosed as infected with the virus without the clinical symptoms. Aside from foreign students who came for studies here and were examined in August-October, among whom a substantial number of infected people of this kind were diagnosed, we have also already diagnosed around 32-33 Soviet citizens infected with the virus, the human immunodeficiency virus, HIV. Who are they? They are predominantly women who have had sexual contact with foreigners, and homosexuals, including ones, moreover, who have had no contacts with foreigners. That is, the virus has already emerged and is circulating among Soviet citizens at large, so to speak: It has already been imported into our territory, so to speak.

Generally speaking, one could also mention another very important fact. A human immunodeficiency virus of a second type has now been pinpointed. So far no people infected with this virus have been discovered on the territory of the Soviet Union. The appropriate test methods are currently being prepared. We have started the first investigations. The virus has a number of particular features. In particular, the illness it causes is not as serious and acute as that caused by the first virus. But all the same, in the majority of cases it leads to development of the illness.

The second very important point is that observations of infected persons carried out over almost 5 years show that far from all of them have moved on to developed clinical symptoms, presented the clinical symptoms. Many of them, roughly 30% or 40%, according to some data up to 50%, continue to live an active life, feel well, and continue to spread the virus around them.

As far as therapeutic agents are concerned, here there are no major changes over what was previously described, just as there is no clear information that a promising vaccine has been found. The only thing I would say is

that recently we have greatly stepped up our research, both at home and on the level of international contacts. Agreements on scientific cooperation are now being signed with a whole number of countries, since everyone is well aware that this disease can only be fought by joint effort within the framework of a special World Health Organization program in which we are taking a most active part.

[Unidentified correspondent] I am very concerned about the question of propaganda in the antismoking campaign, and could you tell us in more detail, please, about the antismoking program now being drawn up? It would be interesting to know if you have any concrete details.

[Chazov] The first thing I have to say about smoking is that we are very concerned about the problem of fighting smoking, and about smoking in general. We calculate that 70 million people smoke in our country. A program is now being drawn up which includes a whole number of different aspects. It includes the thing you mentioned, stepping up the propaganda, and antismoking education in the schools. Another section is the legal aspect, in other words, banning of smoking in certain indoor locations and offices, and with the penalty of a fine. All that happens now is that you are told not to smoke: We are suggesting that there be a fine. Even though some people are saying, "Oh no! More fines!," we are still insisting on it. We are proposing a number of economic sanctions, in particular an increase in the price of tobacco and cigarettes, and that the amount of this price increase be paid to us, the health care system. To put it briefly, the program contains a large package of measures which are now being studied. The program will be implemented, and it is a large program, but of course everyone needs to make an effort here.

Psychiatry Defended Against Abuse Charges

PM240951 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with A.I. Potapov, RSFSR minister of health, by E. Gorbunova: "In the Shadow of Half-Knowledge. RSFSR Health Minister A.I. Potapov on the Problems—Real and Imaginary—of Soviet Psychiatry"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Until recently it was not our custom to speak publicly about psychiatry: Both medics themselves and the press kept a "vow of silence." Is it any wonder that today, when the problems which have accumulated in this sphere of treatment have become the subject of debate, we have proved unprepared for serious discussion? This is indicated, for example, by articles in the broad press—such diametrically opposed opinions are expressed on psychiatry as a whole and on individual instances of patients' being sent to psychiatric clinics that you could wonder in dismay: Who is to be believed? This is not a personal question—we are talking of our social and legal protection. We asked A.I. Potapov, RSFSR minister of health and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, to express his viewpoint. He is a psychiatrist by specialty, and he once headed the large psychiatric hospital in Tomsk.

[Potapov] I have just returned from a tour of the United States and Canada. I had many meetings in scientific research centers and hospitals. I could not fail to be gladdened by the amicable interest in our country, in restructuring, the broadening of democracy, and glasnost. Of course, I did not only meet with physicians. This is what annoyed me: When the conversation in a "nonmedical" audience turned to problems of health care and the reform which is starting to be implemented in our country, there was always a group of people who reduced the discussion essentially to one question—sending of supposedly healthy people to Soviet psychiatric clinics.

Of course, you could simplify the situation and see this as a natural consequence of the anti-Soviet propaganda which suggests to the world public more insistently than before false ideas about the Soviet country and our way of life. Clearly, the situation is more complex, in particular because an entire political trend, calling itself "antipsychiatry," has emerged in a number of capitalist countries. Its supporters assert that mental illnesses do not exist at all and that they are an invention of a sick society pursuing the aim of isolating those not to its liking. Consequently, special clinics and treatment generally are not necessary. I know of many "experiments" where the public has gone along with these ideas and demanded closure of psychiatric hospitals. This has been the case in Britain and Italy. I also know the consequences: Thousands of sick people have ended up on the streets and swollen the crowds of homeless bums who are incapable of earning the wherewithal to exist. There has been an increase in the number of socially dangerous acts committed by them.

We should not close our eyes to the fact that articles which give grounds for misinterpretation sometimes appear in our mass press too. (This is the view one could take, for example, of the extensive article "A Closed Subject" in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* on 11 November this year).

Glasnost is a test of honesty, competence, responsibility, and civic stance, but what competence and responsibility can there be if we present the reader with the conclusion that psychiatrists are arbitrary in their approach and that almost every Soviet citizen is defenseless before the threat of ending up in a psychiatric clinic? Today, when medics themselves constantly submit to the verdict of the public the problems which have accumulated in health care and urge people to participate in resolving them, the fact that some people are still haunted by "closed subjects" arouses bewilderment.

What situation, in particular, has taken shape in psychiatry? Until the fifties, it was probably the most backward sphere of medicine. People were chiefly given "shock" treatment, and it is no wonder that many patients

needed to stay in clinics all their life. Treatment tactics changed substantially upon emergence of psychotropic preparations and other methods. It is possible to alleviate acute conditions so effectively that the former "insane" and "mad" people who used to inspire apprehension and fear in everyone practically disappeared. You might think that the system of organizing assistance should also have changed, but that did not happen. Until recently, the organizational foundations of the service remained essentially what they had been in the thirties, when it was only being set up. Hence the preference for inpatient treatment, although many patients could be treated as outpatients. Or look at the problem of clinic registration. Its principles had not been revised for a long time, and physicians preferred, in the old way, to keep patients on it for years, even when they no longer needed it.

From my viewpoint, Soviet psychiatry also proved vulnerable because its development as a science assumed a one-sided nature owing to the desire to "create a unified school of Soviet psychiatrists." That resulted in attention being focused for long years on the study of schizophrenia to the detriment of research into questions of alcoholism, drug addiction, neuroses.... Like any science, psychiatry cannot develop without different schools, without debate. The enthusiasm for a single problem led to a broader interpretation of the concept of "schizophrenia." Incidentally, tribute was paid to this enthusiasm in the United States too. Many patients diagnosed in the fifties, for example, as "marginal schizophrenics" would now be regarded as patients with a "personality disorder," in other words, as suffering from "psychopathy."

However, these are not disagreements over whether a person is sick or healthy. Science can answer this question. The ideas sometimes expressed that there are no objective diagnostic criteria in psychiatry are simply absurd. Incidentally, we encounter many prejudices. Take, for example, this psychological phenomenon. No one would take it upon himself to judge, for example, whether or not someone has a cancerous tumor—everyone will heed the opinion of the competent specialist. But you will find many people who are convinced that they can tell a mentally healthy person from a mentally sick person with the same confidence with which they judge other people's actions or judge whether some book or movie is good or bad.

It is important to point out that mental disorders are manifested significantly more frequently not in absurd actions obvious to everyone but in morbid feelings of an everyday nature (such as, for example, jealous delirium or persecution mania), and so it is hard for a nonspecialist to distinguish differences between the reactions of a sick person and a healthy person to events which every one of us encounters. These differences become obvious only if a sick person is not given timely assistance and obsessions of delirium lead to a dangerous outcome.

I will remind you that under protection of medicines many sick people today appear outwardly intact, as physicians say, and might be distinguished by a high intellect, the gift of eloquence, or a special persuasive force. There is an old aphorism in psychiatry: "Thousands of healthy people will never change the mind of a single delirious person, but a single delirious person can change the minds of hundreds of healthy people." Being convinced that they are healthy (loss of criticalness toward one's own condition and actions is a specific feature of mental illness and a cause of unpredictable and sometimes dangerous actions), such sick people frequently appeal to the public to "protect them from psychiatrists." Unfortunately, this does not go unanswered, receives certain support, gives rise to mistrust of psychiatry, and makes it difficult to give assistance. In these cases hospitalization is without fail assessed as an abuse.

I will cite my own experience: During many years' work in the psychiatric hospital in the city of Tomsk (and we were treating alomst 3,000 patients simultaneously) I did not once encounter instances of deliberate abuse.

[Gorbunova] Millions of Soviet (and not only Soviet) viewers recently watched a televised debate between Soviet and U.S. parliamentarians on human rights. The question of placing healthy—"politically undesirable"—people in psychiatric clinics was once again raised there. To corroborate the charges, the U.S. opponents showed a short, filmed statement by an emigre who said that, after leaving the USSR, he consulted Western psychiatrists who diagnosed him as healthy, whereas Soviet specialists had considered him sick and in need of inpatient treatment....

[Potapov] I am not familiar with the conclusions of the Western psychiatrists who allegedly diagnosed that patient as healthy. But I would like to explain. Today the diagnosis of mental illnesses has become more complex. One psychiatrist sees a patient before treatment, a second while under the effect of psychotropic means, a third at the time of a relapse, and a fourth when the patient has completed treatment which has brought recovery or a considerable improvement in his condition. Precisely these patients are used to attest to abuses. Look, they say, in the USSR they were kept in "mental hospitals," but in our country they are free. At the same time, world public attention is not, for some reason, drawn to the fate of sick people who emigrate to the West, have a relapse, and end up in psychiatric clinics abroad. These examples, however, are well known to psychiatrists.

Soviet medics have more than once discussed with foreign specialists the case histories of the illnesses of people whose "release" from hospitals has been campaigned for by the Western press. I do not know of situations where diagnoses of mental illness have been refuted.

I do not wish to claim categorically that we do not make medical mistakes or even "false diagnoses." For example, a group of Moscow physicians was recently convicted. They had entered into a compact, carefully kept secret, with criminals and issued them with "certificates" of criminal incapacity. That enabled them to take advantage of the humane nature of the Soviet law which frees the mentally ill from criminal responsibility.

[Gorbunova] What measures, from your viewpoint, must be taken to rule out instances of mistakes and violations, particularly when sending people to clinics? A mistake here entails a special cost.

[Potapov] From my viewpoint, the very instructions that define the principles for assisting the mentally ill, including the procedure for urgent hospitalization, need amplification. Today they permit various interpretations. For example, a physician may consider it necessary to hospitalize a socially agitated patient who pesters his associates with absurd complaints. This is not grounds for urgent hospitalization, although it does, of course, happen that a patient makes life intolerable for his friends, neighbors, and colleagues. In these cases, they must have the right to apply to a commission of experts which determines the need to send people for treatment. Such an approach will rule out many conflict situations arising at present. In other words, we need a new law on safeguarding of mental health to clearly define who must implement hospitalization, how, and on the basis of which criteria. I believe that provision must be made for the right of the patient's relatives to appeal against a diagnosis and for the right to question the physicians' competence and apply not only to higher health care organs (as now) but also to the court.

Naturally, no law, not even the very best one, will protect against mistakes, against disregard for ethical norms, or against callousness, unless measures are taken to raise physicians' qualifications. An insufficiently competent specialist will always prefer to play safe and, in disputed cases (of which there are quite a lot in psychiatry), will continue to give preference to sending people to clinics—there they will get to the bottom of things, they say. We now have difficulties with the problem of raising qualifications. The existing finishing departments are incapable of fulfilling this task, and therefore I consider it expedient to combine them with scientific research institutes of psychiatry. The leading specialists of such centers could run courses to raise physicians' qualifications and hold tests to confirm the level of qualification. Every psychiatrist must sit such tests at least once every 5 years.

The very system of organizing psychiatric assistance needs reforming. We are increasingly often dealing with effaced, slight forms of mental disorders and with marginal conditions whose treatment does not require hospital conditions. What possibilities are there here? There is, for example, the expansion of the network of day hospitals, where the patient spends just a few hours a day and returns home, to his family, in the evening. Hospitals of another kind—night hospitals, which enable the patient to be treated without taking time off work or studies—have also already begun to be set up. At the same time, conditions for labor rehabilitation are being improved, and the number of shops in enterprises where patients work is increasing.

We are posing the question of extending consulting hours in general-purpose treatment and prevention centers, so that every resident can turn to a psychiatrist with no additional referrals from other specialists. Practice shows that many people are afraid to go for a consultation to psychoneurological clinics, and this is a natural consequence of the mistrust that has been sown. Indeed, you would not go if you had read certain claims that all who apply are "registered"—which closes all routes for admission to an institute or being taken on at work. This reveals elementary ignorance of Soviet laws. Clinic records are in no way a "social tail" that follows you like a "shadow." I will cite this example: Over the past year approximately 4,000 people in Moscow have been taken off this record (in connection with recovery or a steady improvement in their condition). At the same time, as I have said, the inertia of traditions exists here, and patients are kept under observation longer than necessary. Testimonies for psychiatric registration are now being revised, as is the entire tactic for organizing outpatient assistance to patients.

Of course, the accent on nonhospital therapy does not mean that inpatient service does not need developing. We have constructed few psychiatric hospitals. In Leningrad, for example, not one hospital has been commissioned throughout the postwar years, although the population has doubled. Before the revolution, there were 25 places in psychiatric hospitals for every 10,000 inhabitants. This number barely reaches 18 now. The result is that hospitals are overfull—which worsens conditions for a stay in them and gives rise to complaints and refusals to hospitalize people. Of course, strengthening of the psychiatric service's material base, as well as resolution of many other acute problems for psychiatry, depends not only, and sometimes not so much, on the physicians—the interested participation of all of society is needed. It is known that the degree of a society's humaneness toward citizens in need of care and protection is one criterion of the level of that society's culture. The position here is far from good. For example, the state has made provision for benefits relating to the work and life of patients. But physicians and social workers of psychoneurological clinics literally have to struggle for observance of their patients' rights: to persuade the local organs of power to allocate apartments, demonstrate to leaders of enterprises and establishments the illegality of dismissing able-bodied patients, and strive to get them reinstated. The press must monitor such cases, trying to convince the population of the need for a patient, humane attitude toward sick people.

Vlasov on Fight Against Home Distilling

LD220009 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1850 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Interview with Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs, by political observer Viktor Prokofyevich Beketov—both identified by screen caption; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Beketov] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, just a little while ago—2 or 3 years back—it was extremely easy to speak and write about the problem of drunkenness and alcoholism. The problem seemed to be quite obvious, and the solution to it very simple and unambiguous: Ban it, eradicate it, and that would be that. Just remember the slogans that used to decorate our towns and villages—"Drunkenness is an evil," "Fight drunkenness," and so on. But now we have moved on from slogans to practical action, and the problem has immediately become more complex, stratifying and multiplying as the lovers of drink use more and more sophisticated methods. It reminds you of the myth of Heracles: You cut off the head, and two others immediatley grow to replace it. What is your opinion of the situation?

[Vlasov] The ideological, organizational, and legal efforts being made by the party, state, and public bodies have effected substantial, positive changes in both forms and methods of work and in the alcohol situation as a whole. At the same time, those changes enable us to see still more clearly the complexity of the fight ahead of us and the persistent nature of alcoholism. To give a brief assessment, a fundamental breakthrough in the fight against drunkenness has not yet taken place. Today, one-third of all crimes are committed by persons while drunk; every fifth road accident is due to a drunken driver; and one in nine fires is caused by drunkenness. Inroads against drunkenness have of course been made, and substantial ones. But it is not yet releasing its hold, and in some places drunkenness is on the offensive, due to liberal attitudes, indulgence, and overestimates of what is possible, but chiefly because of lack of coordination in the fight against alcoholism. I think that the effect of the first attacks on drunkenness was to remove the top layers. Evidently this had too soothing an effect, and the intensity of work to eradicate drunkenness began gradually to decrease. Serious shortcomings were also revealed in the work of the internal affairs bodies. The trouble was that the most determined alcoholic contingent shifted and became entrenched in the domestic sphere, becoming far less accessible to social and administrative measures and control.

It should be stressed with particular sharpness that home distilling is developing into a real threat to establishment of sobriety. The epidemic of home distilling more than anything else is worsening the danger of alcoholism. It really is an epidemic, and there is no need to be afraid of the word. It is growing, and the figures prove it. [video shows close-up of a graph, but resolution is too poor to decipher it] Here we have 1987, with more than 300,000 offenses connected with home distilling. That is 5 times more than 1985. There is a sharp increase, too, in the number of administrative proceedings brought against law-breakers: a 5-fold increase. This year there has been an increasing number of proceedings brought against people acquiring home distilled liquor. Criminal proceedings have been brought against 29% more people than last year—almost 8,000—for selling home distilled liquor.

[Beketov] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, perhaps that statistic also shows that the fight is being stepped up, that the internal affairs bodies are showing a stricter and more demanding attitude to home distillers and makers of the distilling apparatus?

[Vlasov] Of course, and not only the internal affairs bodies. Public bodies, the rural soviets, labor collectives, and komsomol organizations are actively involved, and all in all the fight is, of course, being stepped up. But that figure can be interpreted, or analyzed, another way. The figure of more than 300,000 shows the scale on which this evil is spread.

[Beketov] Still, it would be interesting to know what the reasons are for the vodka epidemic, as you have called it. Who are they, these carriers or spreaders of the infection, so to speak? Has there been any attempt to paint a social picture of the home distiller?

[Vlasov] We have a complete analysis of the state of affairs in the localities and the geographical spread of home distilling, as well as the proportion of crime arising from home distilling. In a number of oblasts, the crime figure is most unfavorable. Again I would like to show you a table. [video shows table containing following information for the first ten months of 1987:

Belgorod Oblast	25%
Bryanks Oblast	22%
Voronezh Oblast	19%
Orel Oblast	17%
Ryazan Oblast	17%
Tula Oblast	16%
Lipetsk Oblast	15%
Mordovian ASSR	15%
Penza Oblast	15%
Chuvash ASSR	14%
Ukraine SSR	14%
Tambov Oblast	14%
Belorussian SSR	13%
Kursk Oblast	13%
Orenburg Oblast	13%]

Belgorod Oblast, for example: 25% of crimes are connected with home distilling. A little less in Bryanks Oblast and Voronezh Oblast; 14% in the Ukraine, 13% in

Belorussia, and throughout the country as a whole, the figure is more than 8%. That is a big figure. But let us go back to the social picture, in reply to your question.

[Beketov] If you would, please.

[Vlasov] Here again I would like to resort to a table. [video shows pie chart containing the following information:

Manual workers	51%
office workers	3%
Collective farm workers	14%
People who have not worked and who have not received an education	9%
Other categories	23%

Superimposed on this chart is "pensioners," who account for 40% of the total]

So, 51% are manual workers; 14% are collective farm workers; office workers are in a small percentage; and pensioners account for 40%. Another thing that could be noted is that a large percentage of the home distillers are women: women who bring up children, and who themselves should be fighting for a sober way of life starting with the family unit, but who are involving people in home distilling. One other thing that I think is very important is that home distilling has become more than a typically rural phenomenon. It is beginning to move into city life. Today one in four detected cases of home distilling is someone who lives in a town. One in 10 home distillers has a higher education. They include a fair number of people in leading positions, teachers, engineers, and medical staff, as well as degenerates holding party and komsomol cards. [passage omitted]

[Beketov] The press and the television have publicized a fair number of cases where home distillers have been detected. Most of those people had jobs, and many of them were even in charge of others. I wonder what the people in labor collectives think about those reports: Do they condemn the home distillers, or do they sympathize with them? It seems to me that public opinion has not yet reached the level of right-mindedness or unanimity that the situation and the seriousness of the problem demand. What do you think?

[Vlasov] The attitudes vary. Some express regret, some are indifferent, but the chief thing is that not only on the factory floor, but also in the rural areas and the workers' settlements, we have not yet been able to break the vicious circle of all-forgiveness and mutual protection. There are numerous cases where even the rural soviets come to the legal defense of home distillers. [passage omitted]

[Beketov] That really is killing with kindness.

[Vlasov] Absolutely right: It is one element of mutual protection. A great deal of damage is done to economic interests by the fact that valuable foodstuffs—thousands of metric tons of sugar, beet, potatoes, grain and yeast—are not just destroyed but turned into poison. It is roughly estimated that up to 1 million metric tons of sugar is used annually for home distilling. That is an enormous figure. A great deal of sugar is stolen. Last year, and this year too, about 2,000 criminal cases involved the theft of sugar. These were in the Ukraine, the Russian Federation, and the Baltic republics. In two trading associations alone, in Novosibirsk and Leningrad oblasts, 200 metric tons of sugar was found to be missing. In a number of regions, wholesale purchasing of sugar in shops has been banned. So as you can see, the home distiller is not giving in. Last year we confiscated about 1 million home distilling apparatuses and about 4,000,000 liters of moonshine liquor. Big figures, as you can see.

[Beketov] Talking about sugar, some viewers write in and say that in many places, many towns and villages, there are major disruptions to the sugar supply, and some of them suggest that there be some sort of supervision over distribution of sugar, perhaps some sort of rationing of sugar on the basis of scientifically established quotas per capita. What is your opinion of that?

[Vlasov] I think that is an extreme measure. What we have to devote our efforts to first and foremost is the fight against home distillers and home distilling, educational and preventive measures. As things are now, sugar is being sold normally in the shops, but to introduce coupons or establish quotas would be an extreme measure. It would not help solve the problem.

[Beketov] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, I would like to return to the statistics you have shown us here, where what is most amazing of all is the figure of 40% for pensioners. I think there is a reason for that, and it is not, of course, because pensioners drink more than anyone else, but because circumstances often force them to it. Let us take a realistic, a dialectic look at it. What are pensioners? They are chiefly people of small resources who are no longer capable of doing much of what they used to be able to when they were, so to speak, in good health. Right? They are chiefly women of advanced age. In other words, there are circumstances whereby they are forced to do it because they have no other way of paying for consumer services, so to speak, such as bringing firewood, repairing things, and so on.

[Vlasov] Well, I do not quite agree with you that the old lady pensioners are as inoffensive as you say. We recently brought severe proceedings in Odessa Oblast against the Sesanyuk sisters, who were pensioners. They were found in possession of 580 liters of moonshine. In no way was that the pay for repairs to the fence or the stove! No, that was clearly destined to make a profit. Or there was Bondarenko in Karaganda. She was earning a living by selling home-made beer and was fined R800,

although I think the fine should have been larger. In Yaroslavl there were cases...[Vlasov changes thought] but there are many such examples, although you were right when you said that our fight should be directed against people who acquire the moonshine or who force others to distill it. Before, our work in this area was not good. Today we demand the same approach, one strictly according to the law, from everyone: everyone who breaks the law—not only the people who distill and acquire the moonshine, but also the instigators, the accomplices and organizers of these offenses. Finally, another important aspect of the problem is that some people gain a profit by speculating in moonshine. There are cases where cooperative cafes have started selling moonshine. That is making a direct profit. Here, of course, what we need is a resolute fight and a resolute attitude on the part of the law enforcement bodies to put an end to that evil. That fight is being waged. [passage omitted]

[Beketov] That, of course, begs the traditional question: What are the militia doing about it? After all, the militia should by their nature spearhead that fight. Do you think that the measures being taken by the internal affairs bodies are sufficient?

[Vlasov] The measures being taken by the internal affairs bodies are blatantly insufficient so far. It has to be admitted that a number of these bodies turned out to be not very well prepared for such an outbreak of home distilling and gave up in the face of the massive nature of it. On the other hand there is an attitude of indulgence, liberal-mindedness, and even irresponsibility. To put it bluntly, we are not yet satisfied with the work of the district militia inspectors. Many of them get along peacefully with the country moonshiner: They are related or on friendly terms, and this gives rise to an atmosphere of all-forgivingness and covering things up.

[Beketov] Some of the militia bodies yield to the temptation to take some of the moonshine themselves, particularly in the country areas, and particularly when it is their kin who are involved.

[Vlasov] That happens too, and I will come to that, but first of all I would like to describe what the level of our work is. The chief figure in this fight is the district inspector, and it has to be said that so far not everywhere are they working actively. On average, each district inspector for example in Moldavia, Latvia, and Kazakhstan apprehends just one moonshiner a year. The district militia inspectors in Ulyanovsk, Vologda, Archangel, Kostroma, and a number of other oblasts detect two cases of home distilling a year. That is why the bootleggers who distill and sell the illegal vodka are flourishing, confident that they can do it with impunity. But then there is the question you mention—one that is very unpleasant for us, a complex and more dangerous phenomenon—when there is a joining of forces with the criminal, protection and patronage for the moonshiner in exchange for money, a bribe. We have detected a number of cases of such degenerates among the militia. This year criminal proceedings were brought against 34 militia officers. All those officers of the internal affairs bodies found guilty were dismissed. Some of them have been imprisoned in various ways, and investigations are being made into others. [passage omitted]

Such people will be ruthlessly expelled from the militia and brought to trial. The collegium of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has severely condemned instances of permissiveness in dealing with home distilling, and a number of organizational and operational measures have had to be taken. The organization of this work has been put under the supervision of the chiefs of the branches and subdivisions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It is planned to have the results of the fight against home distilling in a number of regions examined at collegiums and party meetings, and to involve party organizations and all political bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. To give practical assistance on the spot, teams will be regularly sent out both to supervise and give practical help. Operational groups have now been set up within all the rayon organizations to react to reports of home distilling, and the personal responsibility of every chief is being raised. That is very important and we are keeping a particular eye on this. [passage omitted]

Khrushchev's Role at Stalingrad Mentioned

PM201515 [Editorial Report] Moscow *Trud* in Russian on 19 November 1987 carries on page 4 under the headline "On the Volga's Lacerated Bank" a 1,400-word article by Colonel General V.A. Grekov, former commissar of the 124th Separate Rifle Brigade, recalling the battle of Stalingrad in the fall of 1942. It includes the following passage: "How were we supplied? Only by armored cutters and light-engined night bombers. The injured were evacuated on the direct instructions of A.I. Yeremenko and N.S. Khrushchev. And, on occasion, following humble requests by couriers from Gorokhov, I do not recall us being refused."

Book Published on 20th Century Russian Writers

LD211439 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0740 GMT 21 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, 21 Nov (TASS)—A book which has been completed by the Moscow literary figure Oleg Mikhaylov is devoted to Russian writers of the 20th century who lived abroad. It embraces the twenties and forties and includes essays on the work of Vladimir Nabokov (1899-1977), Yevgeniy Zamyatin (1884-1937), Ivan Shmelev (1873-1950), Boris Zaytsev (1881-1972), and other prose and poetry writers.

"I want to call it 'The River of Time'," the author said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. "Time is a just judge. It makes it possible to soberly appraise works created for one reason or another far from the motherland. They are an inalienable part of our literary history."

The book, which will be released by the "Sovetskiy Pisatel" publishing house, is part of a large work by Soviet literary figures to remove "omissions" in the history of literature. Alongside works written by Russian writers abroad, quite a few talented books are being published of late by Soviet writers which were undeservedly subjected to severe criticism and were not printed.

"The process of spiritual renewal is multifaceted; it cannot be reduced merely to the publication of books which were previously in oblivion," Mikhaylov stressed. "Contemporary Soviet literature is alive, developing, and raises the complex issues of everyday life, of the struggle between good and evil. In recent years, books have appeared which my without exaggeration be called significant in the spiritual life of our society. These are, from my point of view, the short stories by Valentin Rasputin, the novel by Chingiz Aytmatov 'The Executioner's Block', and 'The Sad Detective' by Viktor Astafyev.

Fifty four-year old Oleg Mikhaylov is known for his work on Bunin, Kuprin, and Nabokov. He is the author of novels devoted to the Russian commanders Suvorov and Kutuzov.

Progress, Problems in Theater Reform Pondered

PM191139 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 87 Second Edition p 6

[B. Lyubimov article under the rubric "Critic's Notes": "Halfway There"]

[Text] The theatrical process is at a stage in its development that is as interesting as it is difficult. The economic and organizational principles of conducting theatrical work are changing and being rethought. The system of repertory theaters, which has taken shape over the decades and is a matter of pride in our discussions with foreign colleagues, has begun to falter and to come under fire. Today the very legitimacy of its existence is called into question. The 2-year theater experiment taking place in 100 of the country's theaters is called upon to check which links in the system are worth maintaining, which should be reorganized, and which should be replaced by new ones.

It should be borne in mind that it is impossible to examine problems of contemporary theater outside the social and cultural context of the country's life at the restructuring stage. Theaters' quests in the sphere of repertoire require correlation with the policy of literary journals, with publications of works by Soviet and foreign authors which the average reader used not to have access to. The atmosphere at last year's theatrical congresses cannot be understood without pondering results of the congresses of other creative unions preceding them, above all, the cinematographers' congress. Finally, the economic and organizational ideas of the theatrical experiment are entirely comparable with analogous ideas in other spheres of culture, science, and production. So the preliminary results of the theatrical experiment have far more than narrowly departmental significance.

It can already be said that the main idea of the experiment has proved its worth—granting theaters freedom and independence in choosing their repertoire. Any problems, and problems are inevitable, are compensated by elimination of the degrading feeling that the artist is dependent on the bureaucrat and creativity on "opinion." By the way, this situation is gradually normalizing relations between theaters and management organs, although some local management organs continue to live in hope that the "Moscow system" is not for them. It should be decided once and for all that if M. Bulgakov's "The Heart of a Dog" can be published and staged, then everything that is talented, intelligent, honest, bold, and good can be staged and published. Written more than 60 years ago and now staged simultaneously by two Moscow theaters, the story by M. Bulgakov arouses a feeling of responsibility for the consequences of scientific and social experiments and astonishingly foresees many negative social phenomena. Undoubtedly other difficult and controversial works will in the coming years take their place not only in journals but also on the stages of the country's theaters. The local cultural management organs should be ready for this. If this principle of forming the repertoire becomes the norm, the criteria for perceiving and assessing the phenomena of art will also change—critics and the audience will stop valuing a show or play for its scathing language, sharp twists in the plot, and collection of exotic characters. The "permitted-prohibited" dilemma will cease to pressure the likes and dislikes of theater lovers.

But, frankly, we are still a long way off this ideal (no, not ideal—normal) situation. However paradoxical it may seem, theaters, becoming carried away with the economic and organizational aspects of the experiment, are as yet paying significantly less attention to its creative side, which is in fact the reason why the experiment was launched. There are still more "achievements" of a negative kind in this sphere.

Of course, it is good that the theaters are clearing their posters of old, stale shows kept in the repertoire because of the theme's importance or at the whim of dramatists, directors, and actors in power. All the same, the absence of poor "goods" still does not solve the problem. Imagine the director of a store puffed up with pride: "From now on there will be no unwanted goods in our store." The natural question is: "What are you going to do about about shortages?" As regards "shortages," the theater's situation is bad.

In essence, only one line prevailed last season in the repertoire of Moscow companies—foreign 20th century drama. Albee and Miller, Beckett and Ionesco became

the leaders of the Moscow repertoire. One can understand the desire to fill a vital gap in theatrical education of directors, actors, and the audience and to see phenomena in foreign drama that had been omitted from our field of vision.

But all the same... Just as an agricultural policy should not be based on purchasing grain from Canada, so repertoire policy should not be based on filling its granaries only with foreign stock.

Here is an example of the one-sided and clumsy formation of the repertoire. The Pushkin Moscow Drama Theater put on four shows in 1987. All four were by foreign authors. All four had small casts: One was for three actors, another was for two, and *Gulliver* by J. Broszkiewicz was a one-man show. As a result during the year 40 actors hung around while 10 actors rehearsed. Then we regularly read that our companies have grown in size, as though they can do that without someone's specific assistance....

But such "free planning" affects not only actors but also dramatists. If performances of plays which at one time were banned are excluded (*The Little Boar* [*Kabanchik*] by V. Rozov, *Songs of the 20th Century* [*Pesni XX Veka*] by L. Petrushevskaya), then modern Soviet drama on the Moscow stage is represented only by *The Trickster* [*Levyy Master*] by A. Buravskiy at the Malaya Bronnaya Theater (Director L. Durov), *Wonder Woman* [*Chudnaya Baba*] by N. Sadur at the Yermolova Theater (Director V. Dolgachev), and a play by A. Kosenkov *No Right to Appeal* [*Obzhalovaniyu ne Podlezhit*] at the Malyy Theater (Director V. Fedorov). Recently it seemed that we had a "new wave," the studios of leading lights of Soviet drama, formal and informal drama associations, and annual seminars. But their plays nonetheless are hardly ever staged. The situation regarding children's drama is particularly difficult. It is quite clear that in the pursuit of money, adult theaters will not put on children's shows: They are ashamed to raise ticket prices, but putting on children's shows is unprofitable. In time they will quietly take off the old ones. So Moscow children will only be able to go to the Central Children's Theater and the Moscow Young Spectator's Theater. Are we really going to repeat mistakes made in other spheres of human activity in the cultural sphere by sacrificing the future, including economic prosperity, for the sake of instant profits?

By the way, about profits: There are modest achievements here, but all the same, let us remember that the 30% supplement to the actor's wage, and not to all the company's members (and this is the maximum that the theaters managed to secure), cannot be an economic incentive given present prices, when parents equipping a first-grader for school experience financial difficulties as big as those of musketeers buying a horse and uniform before setting out for the regiment. The "commercialization" of theaters has already been discussed. It is not so much converting a theater into a private theatrical concern, not commerce in itself, but unskillful commerce that is worrying.

The relations between the director and the actors—this is where there is a tangle of contradictions in the modern theater, contradictions accumulated over the years. The initiative now is clearly in the hands of the directors. However, ideas floating in the theatrical air must be thoroughly discussed, above all, by those whom they affect directly. I have heard it said that the acting profession must be made "riskier." What next! The actor's profession is closely connected with physiology, age, and outward appearance.

The armchair nature of judgments about theater is their most vulnerable aspect. We are accustomed to associating this type of thinking with bureaucrats and officials. Official does not mean the post nor the suit and tie, but a way of thinking and doing. You can see bureaucrats' features suddenly show through in the familiar face of some directors, dramatists, actors, and critics; the eyes light up with "administrative delight," and "icy ministerial tones" start to be heard in their voices.

Many ideas in recent years which were skillfully and beautifully formulated lead to a dead end as soon as you try even to mentally carry them out. There is, for example, the idea that theaters must be allowed to die freely. What shall we begin with? With the Vakhtangov Theater, perhaps? Or the Taganka Theater? Which theater shall we close: the Pushkin or the Gogol Theater? Who is going to decide this and how? By a simple majority of votes or an order from the ministry, or according to purely financial considerations? Is all our cultural policy really going to be reduced to a financial one! By the way, new ideas at first by no means always get the support of the audience. In this respect the average rock group will be more profitable economically than the Bolshoi Theater. Must the problem of educating the audience, educating their theatrical taste, and simply instilling habits of theater-going really be removed from the agenda?

There is the opinion that the time has come for the theater to carry out radical demolition work, to demolish and not to build, and not restructure. I would compare restructuring in the theater with major repairs without evacuation. It is very difficult and requires tact and patience on the part of the builders and residents. The moral recovery and a certain "sobering up" of theatrical ideas could assist the creative process considerably.

Now for theater criticism. Alas, it is beset by two dangers which far from all critics have managed to avoid. On the one hand, there are sensational exposures of the theater's private life. There is glasnost and glasnost. This type of glasnost should hardly be today's standard. On the other hand, there is group criticism. In the final analysis, both

misinform the public. At school, examples are given of quick-wittedness: What is heavier, a kilogram of down or a kilogram of iron? A wrong answer from children is excusable. But when grown men and women stubbornly try to prove that their friends' nasty behavior is better than their opponents' mean trick, this only arouses a feeling of embarrassment for all participants in the battle.

Patient, constructive labor, and that alone can bring the theater out of its difficult situation. Work can be done in various ways. It can be done under the lash, with the threat of punishment. It can be done for profit. It can be done out of love for one's work. Uniting people born again in their love for creativity—this is how the task of the leaders of the theater is seen in the new times.

Avant-Garde Art Exhibition Pondered

PM241609 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 14 Nov 87 pp 4,5

[Article by Igor Dudinskiy: "A Piece of Amber or a Pebble?"]

[Text] No one was surprised, staggered, or shocked on the opening day of the exhibition. There was no fuss, although a fuss had clearly been planned. Literally right up to the last moment some people among the waiting crowd had out of habit sought to spread the rumor that nothing would take place, that the people "on top" had banned it... But they were unsuccessful. The doors opened right on time, shaming those who love to spread panic and tittle-tattle.

It cannot be denied that we have begun to regard the diversity of styles and trends in art and the creative rivalry among them suddenly spread out before us more soberly, calmly, and with a measure of healthy irony. The blank spots are disappearing from our cultural map one after another and everything (although with inevitable problems) is taking up the place prepared it by history.

The artists whose work was presented by the economically accountable "Ermitazh" creative association in the exhibition halls rented from the capital's Brezhnevskiy and Sverdlovskiy Rayispolkoms have suffered different fates. The background to the exhibition "Retrospective of the Work of Moscow Artists 1957-1987" is interesting in itself. It must be told in full, without concealment, once and for all. Much will otherwise remain incomprehensible, and incomprehension can sometimes give rise to legends.

In the mid-fifties, when for many people justice triumphed, the intelligentsia tried to interpret their experience and define their place in the era to come. Some succeeded in this, others not. Those who were unable to adjust to the country's rhythm grouped themselves into coteries, others relished their recent rejection and took pride and joy in their "lack of recognition" and "independence." Concern with philosophy, art, and god-seeking became fashionable in these "narrow circles," combined sometimes with the adoption of a very simple life and nonacquisitiveness. A job as boilerman, watchman, or janitor was highly prized as it allowed you to devote the bulk of your time to seeking after answers to the questions that tormented you, to self-expression, and the creation of an intellectual refuge into which it was possible to retreat from former adversities.

The settlement of Lianozovo, on the outskirts of Moscow, at that time was completely covered in unprepossessing temporary dwellings and cheerless shacks. An ideal haven for those who wanted to start from scratch. It is not surprising that Lianozovo became a refuge for the art which in the sixties and seventies was usually described as unofficial and nonconformist.

The married couple Ye. Kropivnitskiy and O. Potapova lived there. Hereditary members of the Russian intelligentsia, artists, and writers, unbowed by adversity, cheerful, never downcast, and questing. The doors of their home were always open, particularly to young people, who marveled at the for that time strange abstract canvases of Olga Ananyevna and the ironic concrete poetry of Yevgeniy Leonidovich.

Kropivnitskiy and Potapova were not, however, out-and-out champions of modernism. Understanding perfectly where a passion for mysticism and the cultivation of the "shack-dumpster" ethos that permeated the postwar communal round of Lianozovo could lead young minds, they tried to imbue their pupils with an interest in genuine masterpieces from both home and abroad. They attempted to persuade them and demonstrate that nothing is created in a vacuum, that the strangest forms have quite specific sources, and that the artist, whatever circumstances he finds himself in, must first of all remain true to the highest human ideals, a patriot, and a proponent of the national culture that nurtured him. Their conviction helped many preserve their honor and dignity in trying circumstances. Unfortunately, however, there were also those who regarded these simple, wise words as merely dreary grumbling on the part of middle-aged people. They subsequently went their own way, a way that deeply grieved honest people.

The impetus flowing from the "Lianozovo school" excited, kindled, and aroused people to test their creative mettle. Like-minded people got to know about one another's existence. An unofficial Bohemia, rent with contradictions, secluded, and thus highly attractive, gradually took shape which began to lead a special secret life full of rumor and legend.

The 1957 Moscow Youth and Student Festival—an event which opened many doors in the fine arts—brought them all together. The exhibition of painting, drawing, and sculpture that was part of the festival's cultural program included works that struck the gallery

visitor of the time as unusual. It turned out that artists creating works in conditions of total isolation and for understandable reasons not having the least notion of what was happening in world art were essentially following the same paths as their foreign contemporaries.

The great Sikeyros, who directed the work of the painting studio at the festival and who was leery of praise, nevertheless noticed and valued the ability of Anatoliy Zverev and Dmitriy Plavinskiy, the romanticism of the fantastic subject matter of Aleksandr Kharitonov, the rigor of the still lifes of Dmitriy Krasnopevtsev, and the touching naif colors of Vladimir Yakovlev—those who had managed to overcome their "inferiority complex" and subdue the desire to shock at any price and refused to slavishly follow prevailing fashions, returning to a creative search within the vein of realist traditions.

Their success was not followed just by well-wishers, however. Certain Western journalists, taking advantage of the fact that the content of their work stood out sharply from what had become tired and familiar in our art, hastened to sensationalize the situation. They labeled the artists "artistic dissidents" and "nonconformists" who had issued a challenge to "official" culture.

And something strange occurred. No one stood up for the artists, no one showed any interest in them or concern. It could be said that the labels coming from the West suited all those who were responsible here for developing the fine arts and for the fate of people trying to push them forward. The USSR Academy of Arts disregarded the assessment of Sikeyros, its honorary member, the creative union defended itself by citing certain regulations, and the professionals objected to the "home-bred modernists'" studio training. The culture organs nodded assent to the trade unions and the Komsomol... Instead of trying to understand the origins of their creative work in a calm and well intentioned way, making friendly criticism, and trying to tactically reorient some people, some of our art critics readily seized on the conjectures of bourgeois propaganda. An avalanche of unsubstantiated and unconvincing pamphlets proved a convenient means of settling scores with talented and promising rivals. Without having managed to find a public, artists like L. Kropivnitskiy, V. Sveshnikov, N. Vechtomov, V. Nemukhin, and E. Shteynberg again found themselves in disgrace. But they and their comrades had no intention of caving in.

New associations, what we now call "informal associations," were created and they appealed to the public and the Komsomol. In 1962 an experimental painting studio collective in Bolshaya Kommunisticheskaya Street decided to deliver an artistic report. The Komsomol Gorkom supported the artists and put a hall in the newly built Hotel Yunost at their disposal.

It is a truism that innovation does not triumph without a struggle and that the old does not give in without fighting. The artistic monopolists, who claimed to be the possessors of the ultimate truth, did not lay down their arms. Everything was organized treacherously, with foresight. The studio members were told to take their work to the Manezh and enter the exhibition marking the 30th anniversary of the Moscow Section of the RSFSR Union of Artists, which N. Khrushchev had expressed a desire to visit.

The jubilee exhibition was organized according to a simple plan. They "prepared" it in advance, pinning on the artists labels borrowed from the Western press and presenting them as repositories of all the deadly sins. As a result the celebrated meeting in the Manezh, what Moscow wits dubbed the "bloodletting at the Moscow Union of Artists," visited new misfortunes on the artists. A sinister conspiracy of silence formed around the "avant-gardists" (which is what everyone who tried to take even one step away from the generally accepted canons began to be called).

What remained? To work. And most of them did just that. But in the mid-seventies the atmosphere heated up. Each of their exhibitions, which were "semilegally organized" in leading scientific centers (experimentation in art proved consontant with the research of major scientists and physicists, who were the first to take the artists under their protection), turned into an object of pilgrimage for many people. Remember the lines of people that formed and the rowdy scenes that were staged! They turned from small groups into a quite large community of like-minded people united by a common "lack of recognition." A strange, unnatural situation came about. They existed and at the same time it was as if they did not exist. Their names were not mentioned. What they did was not favored by even a superficial glance from the art critics. But everyone who was even a little bit interested in art knew perfectly well about them. Venerable collectors considered it their duty to acquire their work.

They dreamed only of being recognized, of "legitimacy," of unbiased, objective asessment. But numerous appeals to the authorities to give them the opportunity to hold just one proper representative exhibi[illegible] remained unanswered. Some of them, tired of the duplicity and ambiguity of the situation, yielded to the temptation to leave the motherland in the hope of finding confirmation of the praise lavished on them by diverse foreign radio stations. Some of them began engaging in acts of direct provocation.

The hand-to-mouth existence and the impossibility of entering into dialogue with the audience prompted some desperate people to take a protest action. Collecting their canvases they set them up on a vacant plot of land near the Belyayevo subway station in order to ask the first people they met whether the accusations leveled against them matched the content of the pictures.

Nowadays, in these times of art bazaars and the ubiquitous exhibition-sales, where everyone has the right to display his wares, people out of touch with art inevitably wonder: Why make a fuss about nothing? Incidentally, Leningrad Director A. Bortko's movie *Having Told One Lie*, which mentions this episode, was shown on television recently. There is no denying it, this is our past and doubtless one day meticulous researchers will explain who actually gave the order to send the bulldozers in against the avant-garde artists' work on 15 September 1974 and to douse them with jets of water from water cannons.

I do not know whether this "bulldozer" epic contained more tragedy or farce. Investigation shows that no one suffered seriously, even though some people tried to provoke the artists into a real conflict. This whole story enabled some to build up considerable "political" capital and go to the West wearing a martyr's halo. The most absurd thing is that the future emigres were presented with this gift by responsible (how tempting it is to write "irresponsible") rayon-level workers.

Fortunately the incident provided a good lesson. A principled assessment was made of the event. The guilty people were punished. The deadlock was broken on this problem. Soon afterwards on a sunny Sunday in that Indian summer a glade in Izmaylovo park was transformed into a gigantic open-air exhibition. The exhibits were not of equal merit but they were surprising. Even though for the sake of objectivity it must be recalled that the waves of innovation also threw up quite a lot of rubbish.

After that at the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements there were two sensational, albeit short-lived, exhibitions which showed that Moscow's artistic life had acquired some new names and ideas which could not be ignored. In view of the fact that at that time the majority of the "unrecognized" artists were on the trade union register in the Associated Committee of Graphic Artists, a painters' section was created under the committee in 1976 and around 300 people immediately joined it. Henceforth they were to have their own exhibition hall, the well known "Gruzinka" (26, Malaya Gruzinskaya Street).

Now art critics at the "Ermitazh" creative association have tried for the first time to gather everyone together and exhibit their work under one roof. With the aim of showing the Moscow avant-garde school in its entirety with no omissions or "censored" cuts. Though in truth it is hard to accept the fact that the exhibition included people who have left the country at various times.

No one "adopted" the exhibition or formed a selection panel. The leadership of the Brezhnevskiy Rayon, where most of the works (painting and sculptures) were exhibited in the hall on Profsoyuznaya Street reacted sympathetically to the "Ermitazh" association's proposal by giving the participants an opportunity to have their say.

The people of the "sixties," who form the basis and the ideological core of the exhibition, are known to today's public mainly through the offensive satirical articles of past years. The public's verdict on the whole of the present-day avant-garde movement and its practitioners and theoreticians thus hinged on the quality of the exhibition. But it is common knowledge that vast distances sometimes separate the concept from the reality...

So who are they, the former "unrecognized" artists? Emperors wearing no clothes, charlatans, or serious experimenters seeking answers?

The answer is to be found in lines above: thirty years; dozens of names; the constant interest of experts and connoisseurs; the approbation of some authoritative researchers; the devotion of admirers. All that goes without saying. But what about the spectator not versed in the secrets and subtleties of "narrow circles"? As he enters the hall he finds himself amid a chaotic and disordered jumble of utterly indifferent and rather monotonous canvases dominated by cold, arid, "pro-Western" geometric abstractions which are totally alien to the vital, romantic spirit of the Moscow school of painting. The eye is dazzled, but there is nothing to hold the gaze. Was this downright boring stuff banned once? Perhaps it was right to protect the public from this wretchedness?

Pictures hung haphazardly do not constitute an exhibition. Unprofessional presentation without a clearly defined idea can discredit the artist's creative search and reduce it to nothing. If the organizers intended to "bury" and depersonalize the legacy which fell into their hands then they more or less succeeded. It was conceived on the principle "a little bit of everything." They drew up a list of everyone they could remember. Anyone who had ever "emerged" anywhere, even for an instant. Each was represented by between one and five works. Fair enough, you might think, that's democratic. But five huge lifeless canvases on the wall basically "kill" and eclipse one small but beautiful painting lost among them. Here the organizers are tendentious in the worst sense of the word. An unhealthy desire for cheap sensation prevailed. As is well known, not everything that is forgotten deserves another fate. Why, for example, fill the place with works which are of no artistic value and contain no discoveries or revelations? Just because their authors ended up abroad at one time or another? When will we be rid of this boring, slavish, humiliating syndrome of "covert rebellion" once and for all?

Provincialism is above all an absence of taste and a sense of proportion which tends to degrade and debase serious ventures. For some people a single keynote work is sufficient to express their credo, but others paint in cycles in which each work has value only in the overall context. Moreover, no one is insured against failures or weak, ephemeral works. Only worthy, impeccable works should be made public. The "Ermitazh" collection is provincial precisely because it consists almost without

exception of second-class, third-rate stuff which says nothing to the mind or heart and is taken out of context. The pursuit of quantity has completely ruled out quality. Dilettantism and the desire to manage on "one's own" without "official" experts, inflated self-importance, haste (not to mention annoying factual blunders whereby the work of one artist is ascribed to another) have hampered acquaintance with a little known stratum of our culture.

Rayon halls are not the place for large-scale retrospectives. Their modest area is well suited to events on a smaller scale. How many names there are which have still not entered respectable catalogues, which have not had their own exhibitions, and are artificially dismissed and debarred from "real" art!

In world art criticism there is the concept of the "Kharitonov landscape." Have many people seen these landscapes? Such a fantastic character as Vladimir Pyatnitskiy—an artist with a tragic fate—who burnt himself out prematurely but left behind him not a world, but a universe which requires considerable intellectual and spiritual effort to penetrate. If you will, show them one after another. Carefully, respectfully, professionally, revealing the unique individuality of each. Is it difficult? Thankless? Does it require great spiritual effort? Of course, it is far easier to win popularity by pandering to the tastes of "liberal" aesthetes, giving the lovers of the semidissident "gems" cause to gossip, and flirting with the cultural attaches of Western embassies...

Fortunately, the times of the "underground"—the main suppliers of political speculation—are receding into the past.

This exhibition is both a lesson and a reproach. From whom are we going to get food for thought? For example, the idea of cooperative creative associations is in the air. I look at the event staged by the "Ermitazh" association and think: If this is how they are going to publish as yet undiscovered poets and prose writers, among whom there are a considerable number of names which are dear to me—unsystematically, chaotically, in a one-sided fashion—then I very much doubt the expediency of the activity of amateur culture vultures.

It is no secret that the diversity of styles which really entered our art caused a certain confusion and revealed the unpreparedness of the "traditionalists" for dialogue with the "avant-gardists." It was more convenient to brush them aside. Dilettantes, they said, half-educated people with a suspect past! Now the time for these murmurings has passed. Clear and well defined words and positions are needed. Maybe they will be given to the public by the creative union's forthcoming congress? There is no need to make allowances, including for the past. The true values which the wave organized by "Ermitazh" has washed ashore should be objectively investigated. Which is amber, which simply pebbles and jetsam, of which there is plenty in such breakers? Otherwise the same will happen as it did with rock music: While journalists and teachers ponder whether music for adolescents has the right to exist, a considerable number of young people will really take the wrong path. Because they have thoughtlessly and incautiously fallen upon the coarse food they need, not knowing that someone's evil hands have mixed poison in with the unthreshed grain.

Briefs

Order of Lenin

By decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Vladimir Grigoryevich Dikusarov, first secretary of the Kmelnitskiy Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party, has been awarded the Order of Lenin. This is in honor of his services to the Communist Party of the Soviet state and his 60th birthday. [Text] *[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Nov 87 LD]*

Newspaper Technology Upgraded

A major newspaper complex has come on line in Vladivostok, making it possible for residents to receive the central press at the same time as those in the European part of the USSR. Other centers of Maritime Kray will also be able to receive the central papers 1 day earlier; quality will be improved. *Komsomolskaya Pravda, Trud, Sovetskiy Sport*, and all the local smallsheet publications are now being printed on offset; other papers will soon be offset printed too. Instead of matrix plates from Khabarovsk, Maritime Kray will receive a direct photocopy from Moscow. The new fax complex is located next to the printing house and uses Soviet and East German manufactured equipment. [Summary] *[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 20 Nov 87 LD]*

Economic

Industry Statistics Cause 'Concern, Alarm'

PM161541 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov report under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Ten Months Down, One and One-half To Go"]

[Text] We have just received the USSR State Statistics Committee report on the work of industry in January-October 1987. The output sales plan with regard to delivery pledges was fulfilled by 98.3% during the 10 months. Some 29% of production enterprises and associations failed to meet their contract commitments.

During the recent years of stagnation, we grew accustomed to making a fetish of indicators, although we probably realized perfectly well that they far from always reflected the actual state of affairs. Any deviation of the

pointer away from the 100% mark created such trepidation that the plans themselves were at once amended—to ensure a semblance of well-being.

Our statistical service (although it probably still has many shortcomings) now seeks to paint an objective picture of production and social life. The emphasis is on shortcomings. On the difficulties which have not been surmounted. On the problems which have not yet been solved.

And so, the figures cited in the USSR State Statistics Committee report cannot fail to arouse concern and alarm. There are just 6 weeks left until the end of the year! Meanwhile, the figures inexorably attest that the annual plan for industrial production is under threat of failure.

The increase in industrial production stood at 3.4% over the 10 months. This is below the plan targets. Most importantly, it is quite impossible to overcome the imbalance in the economy and organize the timely production of precisely those products for which the consumer has an acute need.

The proportion of enterprises which failed to fulfill their contract commitments stood at 37% in the fuel and energy complex, 41% in the metallurgy complex, 53% in the chemical and timber complex, and 62% in the machine-building complex! Even Sumy's celebrated M.V. Frunze Science-and-production Association, which worked irreproachably for a long time, this time coped with its contract commitments by just 99.7%....

It is easy to understand what lies behind these figures. The failure to fulfill deliveries puts production in a fever throughout the manufacturing chain and gives rise to downtime and rush work. And the result is low product quality and hundreds of product items which do not reach the consumers at all....

In October alone, the state acceptance system refused to accept output worth R37 million. The share of this output is particularly large at enterprises of the Ministries of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, the Construction Materials Industry, and Light Industry.

Clients did not receive the full volume of cold-rolled section steel, curved steel sections, or sintered-steel pipes. There were still arrears with regard to deliveries of blast-furnace, steel-smelting, and rolling equipment, mainline diesel locomotives, a.c. electric motors, metal-cutting machine tools, and forging and pressing machines. Production of synthetic resins and progressive types of plastics was not ensured in the planned quantity.

I would, however, like to draw the reader's attention also to some substantial positive moves. Above all, the increase in industrial production was ensured entirely through higher labor productivity. And even with a certain reduction in the number of workers. This is a true sign of production intensification and the increasingly efficient use of fixed capital.

Further. The 10-month plan was fulfilled with regard to profits. They increased 5.9% compared with the corresponding period last year. Need it be demonstrated how important this is? Enterprises in a further 22 sectors of the national economy are now preparing to switch to the regime of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. Profits will be one of the most important indicators of their activity, determining the financial well-being of collectives and the material position of workers. The use of economic levers is to give a powerful new boost to efficient, high-quality work. And we cannot fail to be gladdened by the fact that many of the country's enterprises have already gotten a taste for economic analysis, new approaches to work, reinforced by economic accountability [khozraschet], have appeared, and a new system of economic relations is being established.

A few days ago, for example, our newspaper described how the new methods of economic management have helped the Odessa Machine Tool-building Production Association to overcome a hitch (*Izvestiya* No 315). The crux of the new organization of the matter is essentially very simple. All the plant subdivisions, including the managerial services, have begun to be fully responsible—in terms of wages and rubles—both for their own work and for their contribution to the common results. And the effect is striking! For 8 months the association had been lagging hopelessly behind. But right after switching to the new system of management, in September, it overfulfilled the monthly plan by a factor of almost two. And in October it completely cleared all its debts and took up the prescribed rhythm....

A special mention should be made of consumer goods production. Unfortunately—and this has to be stated for the umpteenth time!—no appreciable changes are taking place in the work of the Light Industry Ministry. Again the targets for production of linen fabrics and footwear have not been fulfilled. During the first 9 months of this year 39 million meters of cotton, woolen, and silk fabrics, 2.9 million knitted articles, and 8.7 million pairs of footwear were rejected or downgraded. The fulfillment of contract pledges with regard to deliveries is not improving. During January-October, consumers failed to receive output worth R1 billion....

Many industrial ministries are also failing to cope with consumer goods production. The trade network was left short of 740,000 television sets, 508,000 tape recorders, and 149,000 washing machines. Products with high consumer qualities are still in particularly short supply: large-capacity refrigerators, twin-tub washing machines, and luxury vacuum cleaners.

So, 6 weeks remain until the end of the year. The most crucial days are coming. Is it realistic to overcome laggardness and make up for lost time? I believe so. Let us look at some figures cited in the State Statistics Committee report, as though through inverted binoculars. For example, 34% of Light Industry Ministry enterprises, it is pointed out there, failed to cope with their contract pledges. But this means, you see, that 66% of the enterprises did not remain in debt to the customers! What, then, is preventing the rest from following their example?

Squandering of Pipes in Siberia Deplored

PM241007 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[V. Lysenko report: "Steel-littered Marshes. USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Discusses People's Control Reports on Negligent Attitude to Material Resources"]

[Text] There was nothing new or fresh about the question that was being discussed. In recent years it has been discussed more than once at the party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. The most recent discussion took place in the government a few months ago, in February. At that time the Presidium instructed the leaders of a number of ministries to establish order as swiftly as possible at West Siberian oil fields and construction sites with regard to stocktaking, storage, and use of material resources, and pipes in particular, and to ensure the completion of the collection and handing over of metal scrap by the end of the 3d quarter.

Yes, the point at issue is the familiar problem of metal scattered throughout the tundra. It is certainly not a new problem, but it has reached a stage when—as they put it in the Presidium—the time has come to make a noise about it. And not just to make a noise, but to adopt emergency measures to rectify the situation.

What is the situation today? The USSR People's Control Committee has just investigated the situation at more than 100 enterprises and construction sites of the Ministry of the Gas Industry, Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, and Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises in Tyumen Oblast. The results reported by S.I. Manyakin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, are extremely depressing. The West Siberian oil and gas complex, which over the past 2 decades has been supplied with virtually unlimited resources of pipes, rolled metal, machine tools, and mechanisms, frequently at the expense of other sectors of the country's national economy, now presents a picture of mismanagement on a large scale. It is suffering from surfeit, so to speak.

Literally at every step there are examples of wastefulness. Pipes, oil extraction equipment, rolled metal, chemical reagents, and other materials, even materials bought abroad, are lying about at oil and gas deposits around the boreholes, at the roadside, and along gas pipelines. The territories of many oil and gas fields and enterprises are littered with metal scrap. Hundreds of machines and mechanisms have been dumped in the tundra, in the woods and the marshes of the oblast. Whole stacks of unclaimed pipes can be found—more than 55,000 tonnes have been registered.

Enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry Glavtyumengazprom [Tyumen Gas Production Main Administration] are especially noted for their wastefulness. The names of Yamburg and Urengoy have traditionally been associated with people's labor feats. However, today they symbolize economic mismanagement in the extreme. At the Yamburg gas deposit and on the banks of the Ob estuary around 1,500 tonnes of new pipes have been discoverd alongside approach roads and at numerous dumps, many pipes were thrown into the water or covered with earth. Around 100 (!) machines, tractors, units of pipe-laying equipment, marsh buggies, trucks, and machine tools, cannibalized or rendered unserviceable, have been abandoned to their fate.

Urengoy: At the bases of the "Tyumenburgaz" Association alone, almost R6 million worth of equipment and materials has been broken up or rendered unserviceable. At that association facts have been discovered which must be dealt with separately.

Two months ago, Tkachenko, a driver, wrote a letter to the people's control organs. He reported that the supplied equipment, pipes, and materials are frequently buried in the ground at the association. A check entirely confirmed this claim. In the presence of "Tyumenburgaz" leaders, transformers, electrical switchboards, sheet metal, high-pressure stopcocks, casing pipes, calibrators, 255 tonnes of metal scrap, and dozens of sacks of cement and chemical reagents were dug out of pits and trenches at 2 bases alone. Now all these goods have been stored and entered in the books, and the culprits have been punished. But why did all this happen only after the investigation? And why did economic practice here become so closely intertwined with criminal activity?

Ye.N. Yakovlev, deputy minister of the gas industry and chief of the Glavtyumengazprom, tried to convince us that measures are now being taken which will really help to establish order and put an end to the criminal outrages. Recently, 6 leading personnel within the Main Administration's system have been removed from their posts, and 85 people have been disciplined. The dismal picture of mismanagement can, according to Ye.N. Yakovlev, be explained by the "former" lack of understanding. The situation will now rapidly improve. A big effort will be made in December and January to collect and ship out the pipes, and by the end of the 1st 6 months of next year the problem will be totally solved.

But is this really the case? And what guarantees are there that ministry and main administration leaders have finally grasped the sheer gravity of the situation?

For quite some time now, around 6,000 tonnes of casing and drilling pipes which are either substandard or have been damaged in transit or storage have been lying around unused at the gas deposits of the Glavtyumengazprom. It has long been obvious that repair facilities are needed at Nadym and Novyy Urengoy. This has been obvious and understood for a long time. Yet the construction of these facilities has been extremely badly organized. The pipe base at Farafontyevo railroad station has been under construction for over 4 years, yet so far only two-thirds of the estimated cost have been assimilated.

So it is not enough to "understand" a problem. What is needed is a clear-cut system of real, well-thought-out measures to establish order. And the will to do it.

As long as 5 years ago, the leaders of another ministry, the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises, and its subdivisions in Tyumen Oblast were criticized for glaring examples of a thriftless attitude to material resources. This was also discussed at the meeting of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium in February this year. So what has been done? The ministry has reported that the pipes abandoned along the routes of the gas pipelines have, in the main, been collected, transported to bases, stored, and entered in the books. It is astonishing with what frivolity this statement was made. The point is that in the course of its investigation the USSR People's Control Committee found 36,000 tonnes of dumped pipes and large quantities of metal scrap, machines, and mechanisms which are not accounted for anywhere. Several years have passed since the development of the oil deposits in the middle Ob region, but new pipes, including imported pipes, are still lying around there. Many of them are still in the original packaging. Does no one need them, is no one responsible?

Minister V.G. Chirskov subjected these facts to a principled assessment at the presidium meeting, but he tried to ascribe the mismanagement to the complex conditions of the north. People are working flat out to meet targets. Frequently they are airlifted from sites by helicopters. Equipment and materials sometimes have to be left wherever they are.

Naturally, it is not just the harsh natural and climatic conditions that are the problem. The general atmosphere of indiscipline and tolerance of run-of-the-mill wrongdoings makes itself felt, and this was stressed at the presidium session. Here are some examples which have nothing to do with "extreme conditions." In recent years the use of specialized oil pipes for all kinds of shelving and flooring, frameworks, and pile foundations under buildings, power line supports, and foundations for pumping units has become widespread practice. In 2 years alone 780 tonnes of various kinds of pipes have been used in Nadym as fencing. It seems they decided to build a monument to economic bungling here—84 metallic kilometers of it! Many hundreds of tonnes of pipes, rolled metal, and railroad tracks have been used to build private garages....

The situation is somewhat better at enterprises of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry's Glavtyumenneftegaz [Tyumen Petroleum and Gas Main Administration]. Work to improve the stocktaking, storage, and use of material resources has been considerably stepped up here of late. However, by no means everywhere has order been established. In the course of the investigation more than 20,000 tonnes of various pipes dumped in the forests and marshes were found and many other instances of mismanagement were revealed. V.I. Grayfer, chief of the main administration and deputy minister of the petroleum industry, had essentially nothing to say in his own defense against the accusation that in his system attitudes of grab-what-you-can rather than thrift and diligence are fostered.

And thus the picture based on the materials submitted by people's control that emerged at the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium session was of a situation which shows all the signs of "surfeit" in the supply of material resources to the subdivisions of the three aforementioned ministries. Serious shortcomings in the allocation and distribution of these resources are the reason for the wastefulness. It is true that in recent years, with the connivance of the Gosplan and the Gossnab, the bad practice of the establishment of unjustifiably high consumption quotas has taken root in a number of ministries. This is what enables ministries to artificially exaggerate their needs, create excessive stocks at enterprises, and then use them to cover up losses incurred through mismanagement.

There is no need to look very far for examples. The Ministry of the Petroleum Industry has set the Glavtyumenneftegaz a consumption quota which exceeds the actual level of consumption of drilling pipes by 12.8%, of casing pipes by 4.8%, and pump and compressor pipes by 5.7%. I would also like to draw attention to another detail: At enterprises of the Glavtyumengazprom halfway through the year steel petroleum pipes and petroleum-grade pipes left at storage centers totaled double (!) the annual consumption of these pipes and the stocks of thin-walled seamless pipes exceeded the annual consumption by 3.3 times.

The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium session analyzed the pernicious consequences of the inaccurate normative policy. As a result of the excessive stocks of pipes, enterprise leaders virtually keep no account of how they are used and no one takes responsibility for their safekeeping or the fulfillment of the targets for saving materials. On almost all projects the quantities of pipes supplied greatly exceed estimated consumption and they are written off without reference to the plan or norms, frequently as soon as they are delivered from pipe bases.

A similar slapdash approach at variance with the times is observed in the elaboration of targets for saving pipes and for the collection and handing over of scrap metal. As a rule, these targets are established on the basis of the level achieved regardless of the actual possibilities. For instance, the Glavtyumenneftegaz' current year target for saving drilling pipes has been decreased by a factor of 11 in comparison with what was actually achieved last year. Even in conditions of continued mismanagement it will be possible to exceed the target by 50-100%. The session noted that there is too much "flab" here too.

Regrettably, the north and the problem of scrap metal have been inseparable for a long time now. Scrap spoils the landscape and disturbs the ecological balance. A great deal has been said and written about the problem of oil drums (*Sovetskaya Rossiya* raised this question too). Special decisions have been adopted, but the situation remains unchanged. According to incomplete information, there are some 10 million drums along the Arctic coast from Yamal to Chukotka. What is to be done about the scrap metal? S.V. Kolpakov, minister of ferrous metallurgy, was unable to give a precise answer to this question. There are allegedly some kind of projects for the construction of bases in the future. But nothing is being done in Tyumen Oblast at present. Naturally, they have their own problems there, and plenty of them, but is it not time that something was done?

During the discussion of this question, examples of another kind were also cited. There are organizations and enterprises where people are beginning to count and save in a thrifty manner and to approach everything with the interests of the state in mind. However, so far there are few manifestations of the new attitude to socialist property. Leaders of ministries and their subdivisions at local level are pinning their hopes on reforms and economic accountability. They claim that as of the new year, thrift will have an economic basis in the form of incentives. However, the new conditions of management will not resolve any problems automatically. The urgent establishment of order in the situation concerning metal is an essential precondition of successful future work.

The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium meted out strict punishment to the culprits. The People's Control Committee will carry out another investigation into this question in Tyumen Oblast in the summer of next year.

Bank To Cover Exporters' Currency Risks

PM241719 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 19 Nov 87 p 1

[Special correspondent S. Korepanov "Reportage" under the "Pace, Quality, Economy" rubric: "The Mathematics of Deals. USSR Gosbank and USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade Specialists Have Elaborated a System of Currency Hedging for Exporting Enterprises"]

[Text] Moscow—Every week the USSR Gosbank publishes an information report in the press showing the exchange rates of foreign currencies against the ruble. It is designed above all for trade deals, "Intourist" currency exchanges, and other transactions. Nevertheless, this bulletin gives only an extremely rough picture of what is happening by the day, minute, and almost by the second on the world currency market.

...The USSR Gosbank Foreign Exchange Department. The CRT's flash up lines of information as it comes in. Two years ago the USSR Gosbank joined the *Reuter* on-line currency and finance information service. All leading world agencies and banks have such channels. The fact that international banks resort to the help of purely journalistic methods indicates the importance of timely communication of information. I remember the pride with which a representative of the U.S. [as published] agency noted that its "Telerate" system provides economic information 6 seconds earlier than other agencies. Six seconds! That is a lot. For when deals run into millions of dollars, a change in the exchange rate of even a few points can mean the loss of thousands and even hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Right up until the eighties, our country, so to speak, stood on the sidelines of the world currency market. But times are changing, and the following facts confirm this: Until mid-1980, the USSR Gosbank issued an official foreign exchange rate once a month; from 1980 it did so twice a month; from 1986 it has done so once a week, on Wednesdays. Now the USSR Gosbank could issue a bulletin every day, but as yet the lack of a unified information system does not permit this.

V. Gromov, chief of the Foreign Exchange Department, acquainted me with the work of the "*Reuter*-monitor" system. On the left an electronic screen impassively tells the time—European, GMT, and New York time.... Then it shows currencies, (dollars, francs, marks, yen), the bank code and name, the transaction, the exchange rate, the previous rate, and the day's spread.... It is a pity that the Soviet ruble is not among the main world currencies and that our country, which covers one-sixth of the planet, does not figure on the world currency market. For the moment... But in connection with the restructuring under way our economists do not rule out the possibility of the ruble being accepted in the not too distant future by banks in New York, Paris, and London....

The line in the "banking transaction" column flickered. A deal had been made: purchase-sale. The screen showed how exchange rates were tipping, as if on invisible scales. Huge sums move from bank to bank, from one country to another. You can judge the ebb and flow of the world money ocean on a special scale—in terms of points. There are 10,000 of them. The rate for each currency changes every hour, every minute of the day.

"*Reuter* channels," V. Gromov said, "also give regular assessments of the economic and financial state of individual countries in the world. Unfortunately, there are no such assessments of the USSR, yet Western business

circles are extremely interested in this. If we want to develop cooperation, we must give our partners regular economic information. It is in our interests to do this."

I familiarized myself with the "*Reuter*-monitor" morning report. At that time the dollar exchange rate differed by several points from the day's exchange rate—this is vitally important for us. Say a deal is under way in Vladivostok—people are paying for our goods. Using what rate? The rate at the close of trading on the Asian currency market or the rate there and then? A difference of several points, multiplied by millions of dollars, can involve the loss of thousands of foreign currency rubles if we do not know the rules of play on world currency markets.

...Since 1 January 1987 22 of the country's ministries and 70 enterprises have obtained the right to conduct independent trade operations on the external market. A great right. But, without experience of foreign trade, will they be able to make use of this market? These misgivings are not unfounded. Therefore, firms have been created under exporting enterprises to perform this foreign trade function. Some of the offices were staffed with USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade workers with international experience of such transactions.

Yu. Nikitin, director of the "Polet" firm, admitted: "We have been conducting trade operations with foreign partners since July this year and we represent the interests of the First Moscow Clock and Watch Plant. And although most of our workers are experts in foreign trade, there are a mass of difficulties. Nobody had any idea how an exporting enterprise can trades in foreign markets—we had no experience of this. One of the main troubles is the complete lack of forward hedging. The Foreign Insurance Administration insures freight and freight deliveries but it has refused to provide this type of service. At the moment we are lucky: We receive money as soon as the output is sold. But if it is a question of commercial credit—payment in installments over several months—as happens with supplies of equipment from foreign firms, miscalculations are possible.

"Say an enterprise exports output worth a total of 10,000 dollars. But it may receive 8,000 or 11,000 foreign currency rubles—depending on the dollar exchange rate at the moment the transaction is completed. Hedging is necessary."

I asked V. Gromov: "Will currency risks be hedged in our country?"

"Enterprises are indeed taking risks," he agreed. "Previously the state covered the cost of currency risks. Today the situation has changed—this has become the enterprises' prerogative. They are simply unable to know all the intricacies of currency policy, and this means that currency losses are inevitable. Therefore the USSR Gosbank jointly with the USSR Foreign Trade Bank has elaborated a system of hedging currency risks for exporting enterprises and also for organizations carrying out comparable trade transactions. We propose that the USSR Foreign Trade Bank will assume the role of intermediary and guarantees the exporting enterprise the proceeds from currency transactions carried out with its help at a prearranged exchange rate. It is proposed to establish forward exchange rates for periods of 1, 3, 6, 9, and 12 months."

"You constantly cite the exchange rate in a single currency—the dollar. But can we not receive payment in another currency, say, the Japanese yen?"

"Yes. But it is better for enterprise leaders to consult USSR Foreign Trade Bank specialists when choosing a currency."

"When will exporting enterprises be able to make use of the new bank services?"

"As of the beginning of next year, I think."

Agricultural

Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Fulfills Plan

AU181409 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Nov 87 p 2

[Unattributed report: "A Million from the Corn Field"]

[Excerpts] Dnepropetrovsk—Having delivered to the motherland's granaries 1.269 million metric tons of grain, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast farmers fulfilled the annual plan for grain sales. The plans for the procurement of groat crops have been exceeded twofold. Wheat was delivered to reception centers almost entirely in strong and valuable varieties.

A significant portion of this achievement was made by corn growers who gathered an average of 32 quintals per hectare, and obtained a total yield exceeding 1 million metric tons. [passage omitted]

The farms have provided themselves with grain seeds and have made stocks of fodder. The sales of grain are continuing.

Murakhovskiy Addresses Farm Workers' Day

PM230939 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 14 Nov 87 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Assimilating New Economic Management Methods More Actively; Ceremonial Meeting in Moscow Devoted to Agricultural and Agro-Industrial Complex Processing Industry Workers' Day"]

[Text] The fall storms are over. The intensive days of harvesting are behind us. The time has come when, by tradition, we honor on a nationwide basis those on the results of whose work the wealth and might of our

country largely depend, as does the fact that each Soviet family has sufficient to eat. This year the holiday is simultaneously being celebrated by those who produce and those who process crop farming and stockraising products.

The capital's Bolshoy Theater was adorned with festive decorations. A ceremonial meeting was held there on 13 November—the eve of Agricultural and Agro-Industrial Complex Processing Industry Workers' Day. Eminent experts in kolkhoz and sovkhoz production, from processing and other agro-industrial complex enterprises, specialists and labor collective leaders, and scientists took part in it from all over the country.

The presidium comprised V.P. Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department, USSR and RSFSR ministers, chairmen of state committees, senior officials from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, ministries, and departments, and scientific and cultural figures.

Delivering a report, V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the country's Gosagroprom, conveyed the warmest and most cordial congratulations from the party Central Committee to the participants in the ceremonial meeting and all agro-industrial complex workers, and wished them new successes in their work and in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the country's Food Program.

Soviet people, the speaker said, are greeting Agricultural and Agro-Industrial Complex Processing Industry Workers' Day in an atmosphere of immense labor and political enthusiasm generated by the glorious Great October jubilee. The report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the ceremonial session devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution revealed the majestic profile of our motherland, its revolutionary history, and stages filled with work and struggles. The historic role of the peasantry in socialist building and its indomitable steadfastness and fidelity to the party cause were particularly stressed.

Agro-industrial complex workers are comprehensively assessing the results of what has been achieved and defining new frontiers in our progress. As is happening everywhere in the country, restructuring is gaining ground in agricultural and other agro-industrial complex sectors. The organizational and economic changes in the agro-industrial complex system have galvanized the work of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing and service enterprises. The economic management mechanism is being improved and the transition to primarily economic methods of leadership is taking place. An extensive democratization of management is under way and the independence of farms, enterprises, and organizations is being enhanced.

Economic accountability [khozraschet] is becoming a reliable support for developing production and strengthening the economy for most agricultural and processing enterprises. Around 80% of production subunits at kolkhozes and sovkhozes now work on a contract basis. The family, individual, and rental contracts are gaining more and more prestige. Team forms of labor organization at processing industry enterprises have been widely disseminated. They cover 76% of workers. One in every three teams works on the basis of economic accountability. Almost half of all workers in the construction industry work in economically accountable teams. In contract collectives wages are always paid on the basis of gross income. This reflects most fully the essence of economically accountable relations and stimulates action in reducing output prime cost.

The positions of the agro-industrial complex have considerably strengthened in another key avenue of restructuring—production intensification. Its core has been and remains scientific and technical progress, the speaker stressed. The material and technical base is being modernized at accelerating rates in agriculture, processing industry sectors, and construction. The level of comprehensive mechanization is being improved in all components. Scientists are making their own contribution to accelerating the development of the agro-industrial complex. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Improving Scientific Backup for the Development of the Country's Agro-Industrial Complex" defines specific ways of stepping up scientific activity. The implementation of this resolution will make it possible to accelerate scientific and technical progress and to improve production efficiency.

The development of agro-industrial complex sectors is becoming more and more stable. This year, under the extremely unfavorable weather conditions prevailing in many parts of the country, more than 210 million tonnes of grain were harvested. Crop farmers were helped by townspeople, Soviet Army servicemen, students, and schoolchildren. On behalf of all agro-industrial complex workers V.S. Murakhovskiy ardently and cordially thanked them and expressed gratitude for their selfless work.

The prestige of modern techniques has become indisputable. Specialists, machine operators, and all working people who have espoused front-ranking methods have made a considerable contribution to the country's grain resources. From every hectare of grain crops cultivated using intensive techniques Ukrainian farms have harvested 43.2 quintals of grain over an area of 3.5 million hectares—or 14.4 quintals per hectare more than with ordinary techniques. On the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of

Krasnodar Kray, where winter wheat and barley are grown using only progressive methods, these crops yielded 40.1 quintals from an area of 1.3 million hectares. Large harvest increases as a result of introducing intensive techniques have been obtained by many farms in Kazakhstan and in a number of RSFSR oblasts.

The work of Belorussian crop farmers has been particularly gratifying. Throughout the republic as a whole they have harvested 35 quintals of grain per hectare for the first time. But that is only the beginning. Intensive techniques are opening up tremendous possibilities for further boosting yields, which is convincingly proved by the best labor collectives. Thus, kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Grodno Oblast have harvested 40 quintals from each hectare of grain crops, the Gastello Kolkhoz in Minsk Oblast harvested 71 quintals per hectare, while the "Krasnaya Zvezda" Livestock Breeding Center in the same oblast harvested 72 quintals per hectare. On the Lenin Kolkhoz in Gomel Oblast yields were 105 quintals over an area of 35 hectares.

Stockraising workers are dynamically building up their productivity. In the first 10 months of this year livestock and poultry purchases have increased by 1,400,000 tonnes, milk purchases by 2 million tonnes, and egg purchases by almost 1.5 billion eggs in comparison with the same period last year.

Output is increasing in the meat, dairy, fruit, vegetable, canned products, confectionery, and other industrial sectors. However, today, the speaker said, we must not fail to mention the fact that in terms of their development processing sectors in the agro-industrial complex have long been chronically lagging behind the needs of the economy and the increasing requirements of Soviet people. The recent party Central Committee conference severely but fairly criticized the state of affairs in output processing and storage. It has been decided to develop processing sectors as a priority. A large-scale program to retool them in a very short period has been defined, and measures have been worked out for expanding the use of waste-free techniques and improving the quality of catering products. The task of agro-industrial complex workers is to constantly improve the work of the meat and dairy, canned products, food, and other sectors of the processing industry through the extensive introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

The integration of agro-industrial complex sectors is a reliable way of improving the utilization of material and labor resources and building up production rates. New forms of organizational and economic relations have emerged in the restructuring process: agro-industrial combines, firms, associations, and production and scientific production systems. They have demonstrated their advantages in a short period. These positive changes have become possible first and foremost thanks to accurate coordination of the development of sectors, the organization of waste-free production, and flexibility in the use of funds. The fact that all workers here have been given a major vested interest in end results is very important. Life persistently demands that the work to integrate agriculture with processing sectors be stepped up. It is necessary to focus the attention of all labor collectives and economic organs not on interim targets but on achieving high national economic end results.

The party's long-term, thoroughly reasoned, and integral social policy is producing positive results in the countryside. Construction of housing, kindergartens and creches, medical centers, general education schools, and other social projects is expanding. At the same time, less housing per capita is commissioned in the countryside than in the city. There are lags in the provision of facilities and medical, cultural, and consumer services to the countryside and with the construction of metaled roads. The transition of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and enterprises to complete economic accountability and self-financing and the expansion of labor collectives' independence create the conditions for accelerating the resolution of social problems. Wherever leaders exploit favorable situations as far as possible, the social transformation of the countryside proceeds quickly, comprehensively, and on a large scale.

The speaker accentuated the tasks and unresolved problems. It was noted at the party Central Committee June plenum that all the objective conditions now exist for making a leap forward in building up production of agricultural output and in making more effective use of production potential. Agro-industrial complex workers have been set the task of considerably improving the supply of foodstuffs to the population in the next 2-3 years.

To this end it is necessary to bring all factors for ensuring further growth into play and to make fuller use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, the new economic mechanism, accumulated experience, and cadres' professional skills.

Particular attention is to be devoted to building up grain production. It is planned to bring gross grain harvests up to 250-255 million tonnes by the end of the 5-year plan. Stockraisers are faced with major tasks. Meat production must be brought up to 21 million tonnes (slaughtered weight) and milk production up to 110 million tonnes. It is necessary to meet more fully the population's requirements for vegetables, potatoes, and fruit.

In order to fulfill the set tasks we must more boldly assimilate the new forms of economic management and resolutely eradicate all obstacles holding back production of agricultural produce on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, industrial subsidiary farms, and personal plots. It is also necessary to make every possible use of such an important reserve as collective horticulture and truck farming. All restrictions on their development have now been lifted. The desire of rural and even city people to produce meat, milk, vegetables, and fruit needs constant support and concern.

Workers in the agro-industrial complex are today facing an acute quality problem. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes supply processing enterprises with undernourished and sometimes even scrawny livestock together with substandard milk, grain, and other products. In turn, processing enterprises dispatch low-quality dairy, meat, and other products to the trade network. Particularly large quantities of poor-quality potatoes, fruit, and vegetables come onto the market. It is necessary to enhance the mutual demandingness shown by the suppliers of raw materials and the processing enterprises, to resolutely introduce waste-free, resource-saving technology, and to strengthen and improve the storage base. An important role in improving the quality of produce should be played by state acceptance, which will be introduced at a number of processing enterprises as of 1988.

In the next 2 years kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and agro-industrial complex enterprises are to be switched to complete economic accountability and self-financing. A decision was taken recently to switch agricultural, processing, and other Estonian agro-industrial complex enterprises and organizations to this method as of 1 January 1988. The agro-industrial complexes of Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, and a number of oblasts in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan are preparing for work under the conditions of complete economic accountability and self-financing. Economic work methods must now be resolutely asserted everywhere, and contracts, normative planning methods, and incentives to encourage labor collectives to wring the greatest benefit out of their production potential must be assimilated and extensively utilized. More work must be put in, all our actions and plans must be subordinated to the cause of restructuring, and socialist competition to increase output, reduce prime cost, and boost labor productivity must be launched more extensively.

The socialist competition to worthily greet the 70th anniversary of Great October has clearly shown the inexhaustible reserves contained in the skills and experience of working people, their selflessness in achieving their set goal, and their devotion to the cause of the party and people. Our meeting, the speaker said, is being attended by agro-industrial complex production front-rankers from various republics, krays, and oblasts. There are many representatives of Moscow Oblast among them. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the capital's oblast have been confidently building up the pace of their development. This year they have obtained more than 36 quintals per sown hectare and more than 3,600 kg of milk from each cow.

The names of front-rankers are cited with particular gratitude in the report. These are above all machine operators who have distinguished themselves during this year's difficult harvest—Galina Ilinichna Golub from the "Melnikovskiy" Sovkhoz in Altay Kray, Nikolay Mikhaylovich Yegorov from the "Lipetskoye" Experimental Production Farm in Lipetsk Oblast, Hero of Socialist Labor Aleksandr Alekseyevich Krivich from the Krasnodar Kray kolkhoz named for the 22d Party Congress, and Hero of Socialist Labor Vasiliy Andreyevich Glavin from the "Sarayevskiy" Sovkhoz in Ryazan Oblast.

New front-ranker names have appeared among the ranks of stockraisers. These include the following milking machine operators—Zinaida Vasilyevna Ragulina from "Bolshevik" Kolkhoz in Novosibirsk Oblast, and Yekaterina Vasilyevna Bakhareva and Nadezhda Aleksandrovna Khorkina from the "Leninskiy Luch" Kolkhoz in Moscow Oblast. Outstanding results have been achieved by Hero of Socialist Labor Leonid Zakharovich Shabinskiy, milking machine expert at the Sovkhoz named for the 26th CPSU Congress in Kharkov Oblast's Bogodukhovskiy Rayon. In the first 10 months of this year he obtained 7,084 kg of milk—118 kg more than in 1986—from each of the 40 cows in his care.

The motherland makes a high assessment of the selfless work of crop farmers, stockraisers, processing enterprise workers, specialists, and leaders. This year 61 agro-industrial complex workers have been awarded USSR State Prizes for their high production results, initiative, and creative questing. The lofty title of Hero of Socialist Labor has been awarded this year for the second time to those talented organizers of kolkhoz and sovkhoz production Vladimir Leontyevich Bedula, Endel Augustovich Liyeberg, and Viktor Ivanovich Shtepo. Under conditions of restructuring, their excerptional abilities as leaders of labor collectives, and their ability to rally people together and mobilize them in order to attain high indicators in work have been manifested even more vividly.

We are on the threshold of the third year of the 12th 5-Year Plan. The plans have been ratified and have become law. Now we must bring all existing reserves into action. It is exceptionally important to complete the winter period successfully. During this period milk yields must not be permitted to decline, nor the weight gains of livestock. It is important to prepare equipment properly and lay a firm foundation for next year's harvest. All farm and agro-industrial complex enterprises must develop cadre training and organize in-depth study of intensive techniques, economic accountability, and the achievements of science and front-ranking experience.

Persistently improving their work, agro-industrial complex workers are putting all their effort, knowledge, and experience into fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the Food Program targets, and will continue to actively struggle to implement the party's plans.

Awards Tractor Drivers

PM231451 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Named for a Renowned Woman Tractor Driver"]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Nov—On this occasion there are 30 of them—women machine operators to be presented today with commemorative prizes named for P.N. Angelinaya. The path toward winning this honored trophy was not easy for any of them.

Even for someone as experienced as N.A. Soloshenko, a machine operator on the "Kuybyshevskiy" Sovkhoz in Kustanay Oblast's Leninskiy Rayon, who knows her job to perfection, it was not easy. Nonetheless, Nadezhda Aleksandrovna not only considerably overfulfilled her plan target, achieving a performance of 1,900 standard hectares on the DT-75 tractor, but also managed to save 4% of fuel and lubricants as well as sovkhoz money on the repair and technical maintenance of the machine.

T.P. Koklish, a tractor driver from Latvian SSR Rezeknenskiy Rayon "Garkalny" Sovkhoz, features constantly among the pacesetters. Her performance is equally impressive. Her labor has been rewarded with honor. Tamara Pavlovna is a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy and winner of the Orders of Lenin and Labor Glory Grade III.

Their performances are matched by all the other innovators whom V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the country's Gosagroprom, presented with honorary prizes today for successes in the 1987 socialist competition.

Media Report 18-21 November Developments

LD230334 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 18-21 November. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

18 November

Livestock farmers in Tomsk Oblast have fulfilled their annual plan for marketing milk early and sold around 225,000 tonnes of milk to the state. (1500)

19 November

To date 4.5 million tonnes of raw cotton have been harvested in Uzbekistan. The rates of procurement of the crop are now much higher than in previous years. (0304)

21 November

Farms in the Ukraine have fulfilled the plan for 2 years of the 5-year plan period for the sale of milk to the state. Previously the Ukraine's stockmen had already reported the completion of 2-year tasks for the sale of meat, eggs, and wool. A good basis has been created for further increasing the production of animal husbandry produce. The republic's farms and complexes have approached the winter with the best fodder reserves in its entire history: over 1 tonne of hay per hectare has been laid in; 70 million tonnes of silage have been stored and almost 21 quintals of fodder units per standard head of cattle. (1200)

Uzbekistan cotton growers have fulfilled a plan for fine fibrous raw cotton procurement. They have delivered over 480,000 tonnes of this product to procurement centers. Of those, over 300,000 tonnes of raw cotton have been harvested in Surkhan-Darya Oblast. Yet at many ginneries, last year's cotton still remains unclaimed as textile producers refused to accept it because of its high content of impurities; they prefer manually picked cotton. (Moscow Television Service in Russian, 1555)

Grain sowing is complete in Uzbekistan's Kashkadarya Oblast. Winter barley and wheat have been sown at optimum times for the region. The Kashkadarya grain fields are the largest in the republic, just under 250,000 hectares. (1900)